

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



## WASHINGTON BULLETIN

August 1964

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Founded by Leo Szilard in 1962. OFFICERS: BERNARD T. FELD, *President*; ALLAN FORBES, JR., *Vice-President*. BOARD OF DIRECTORS: WILLIAM DOERING, *Chairman*; RUTH ADAMS; BERNARD T. FELD; ALLAN FORBES, JR.; MAURICE S. FOX; JEROME FRANK; MATTHEW MESELSON; JAMES G. PATTON; CHARLES PRATT, JR.

### The New Action Program

The "1965 Action Program of the Council for a Livable World" is now ready and is enclosed with this Bulletin to all Supporters. In addition, it is being distributed to as many other persons as possible who have asked to receive information about the Council. The new Action Program outlines both general and specific goals for 1965, as well as the ways in which the Council hopes to press for these goals.

### A Tribute from President Johnson

The Council was pleased indeed to receive the following letter from President Johnson:

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington

June 25, 1964

Dear Jim:

I hope that Dr. Leo Szilard's death will not in any way slow down the good work which you are doing. We in the government benefit greatly from a responsible and informed public opinion which is concerned with world peace. I wish you success in your efforts toward this vital goal.

Sincerely,  
(signed) Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. James Patton  
Council for a Livable World  
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

### On the MLF

The Council continues to be concerned about the proposed multilateral nuclear force--the MLF--and is urging that there be a very careful study of the problems involved before any final decision on forming the MLF is made. The Council study paper on the MLF has been widely circulated in Washington since its initial distribution this spring. It was quoted briefly in a featured article on the MLF in the Washington Post (July 19) and put into the Congressional Record in full by Senator Clark.

During the past month, some mention of the need to thoroughly consider the MLF has been made in Congress. On August 3, Senator Church stated that "...the creation of the proposed Multilateral Nuclear Force (MLF) is a major foreign policy step, one which could have lasting effect on our relations with our Western European allies, the Soviet bloc, and our conduct of arms control negotiations. If an MLF treaty is to be presented to this body in the near future, there is great need to have an adequate discussion of the merits of the proposal before the time of



requested ratification. Up to now, there has been little discussion about the MLF, either in Congress or in the press. Recently, Murrey Marder, the distinguished diplomatic correspondent of the Washington Post, wrote a worthwhile feature on the MLF which explored some of the problems connected with this proposal. I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Record. [The entire Post article of July 19 is included.]

The following day, August 4, Senator Clark spoke: "...yesterday, my colleague and seatmate, the senior Senator for Idaho (Mr. Church), made what I thought was a very valuable suggestion. He said that there is a great deal of pressure in certain areas of the State Department, and in other parts of the administration, for the adoption of a multilateral nuclear force which would provide for the creation of naval vessels carrying Polaris missiles to be manned by mixed crews of our NATO allies, which would carry nuclear warheads, but on which, however, the United States would retain its veto with respect to their firing. I believe that the Senator from Idaho was wise in urging that the question of the multilateral force be explored fully and in the open, not only by Members of Congress, but also by the public generally. In order to follow the wise suggestion of Senator Church, I ask unanimous consent that an address delivered on April 22, 1964, by Hon. Gerard C. Smith, special adviser to the Secretary of State before the U.S. Naval Academy Foreign Affairs Conference at Annapolis, Md., entitled "Problems of Foreign Policy in Connection with the Nuclear Defense of NATO" be printed at this point in the Record. [The entire address by Mr. Smith follows.] This address is what might be called the standard case in support of MLF. Ambassador Smith makes his points cogently and well. However, there is another side of the case. It has been discussed by the well-known and able Washington lawyer, John Silard, in a study for the Council for a Livable World. His article is entitled "Should the United States Continue To Promote the Multilateral Nuclear Force?" This paper forms the arguments in opposition to MLF. I think they deserve serious consideration. I ask unanimous consent that the paper entitled "Should the United States Continue To Promote the Multilateral Nuclear Force?", written by John Silard, be printed at this point in the Record." [The entire article by John Silard follows.]

In the House, Congressman Halpern also spoke on the MLF (August 4): "...on June 17 in this body I raised the issue of the proposed multilateral nuclear force, attempting to focus upon the various elements involved and questioning the validity of the concept. Since then I have been pleased to note that media of communication have begun to debate the subject and devote more attention to it. In this week's New Republic, Mr. Alastair Buchan writes a profound piece on Nato and the MLF. ...On June 17, I warned that, unless appropriate diplomatic representations were undertaken, the multilateral force, a substantially new project, could sabotage or undermine this country's endeavor to reach meaningful accords on disarmament and arms control. ...Now, I am not one to say that Soviet feelings should influence our decisioning conclusively. ...What I do contend is this: Since the MLF is not really a military necessity, essential to the security of the free world, I would want full assurance that this project, a new and unique venture, does not doom disarmament prospects, undermine Eastern Europe's disengagement from Moscow, renew a Moscow-Peiping front, and conflict with other long-range objectives of American policy. ...Most especially, I hope that we can now launch into a constructive and responsible public review of this venture. This is necessary. I fervently urge appropriate officials of our Government to bring this subject to the forefront of public discussion."

#### On Vietnam

The nearly unanimous joint Senate and House resolution supporting the President's actions in Vietnam was followed by a proposal by Senator McGovern (August 8) for "a conference of the involved nations to seek a political settlement in southeast Asia." The Senator said in the course of his remarks: "I think the fourteen nation conference suggested by General de Gaulle ought to be seriously considered. ...As the Secretary-General of the U.N., Mr. U. Thant, has said, it is difficult for the United Nations to undertake a settlement of the southeast Asia problem for the simple reason that neither North Vietnam nor the Chinese mainland is a member of the United Nations. I would hope, however, that any agreement which could be worked out at a conference of the kind which I have suggested would be enforced by the United Nations. ...If that settlement involves, as I believe it does, discussions with the Chinese as well as the North Vietnamese, let us not jeopardize the peace of the world by diplomatic rigidity." Later in the same session, Senator Nelson supported Senator McGovern's proposal for such a conference.

That the struggle in Vietnam is a political struggle, not merely a military one, was very clearly brought out in an earlier Senate discussion on Vietnam (June 23) involving Senators Church, Fulbright, Morse, Pell, and Humphrey, among others, that followed a major speech by Senator Church on American support for the United Nations. Senator Church suggested, in the course of the discussion: "...I am concerned lest we eliminate other alternatives to military action alone. I think there is a growing danger that we may do this. I suggest that we must



remain constantly alert to the availability of the United Nations. I see little that can be lost in probing the possibility of an enlarged U.N. role." (The complete text of the speech and discussion is being distributed to Supporters.)

#### Enlarging the Numbers of Supporters Further

The support of candidates through the Council will be particularly important in the forthcoming elections. The Council is therefore planning to contact as many persons as possible during September and October, hoping to enlist their support. An especially valuable source of new Supporters in the past year, and one which is not available through any other means, has been those persons whose names have been provided to the Council by present Supporters. The Council is therefore asking Supporters to again provide names of friends and acquaintances who may be assumed to have some special interest in the matters with which the Council is concerned. Please try to provide as many names and addresses as possible, and try not to repeat any name previously suggested. (A form for this purpose is being distributed with this Bulletin.) It would be very helpful if, in addition, Supporters were to follow up the information sent from the Washington office in person.

#### The Scientist-Senator Tape Recordings

The scientist-senator discussions of foreign policy issues taped by the Council this spring are still available for distribution. Participants are Matthew Meselson and Bernard Feld (both members of the Board of Directors) and Senators Church, McGee, McGovern, Nelson, and Pell. The discussion is divided into two parts: the first centers around the need for a flexible foreign policy, some specific arms control measures that deserve current attention, and, in some detail, the multilateral nuclear force; the second considers the dilemmas faced in Germany and Central Europe, the plan for an inspected freeze on armaments in Central Europe, and the problems presented to the U. S. economy in shifting from military to civilian production. The discussions are forceful and, although the tapes are now four months old, the appraisals are still highly relevant. Supporters who would like to borrow the tapes for use with small discussion groups may do so by writing to the Washington office. (The tapes are available as two separate 28-minute sessions, or as one one-hour session, each with appropriate introductions.) The Council has provided a number of radio stations with the tapes, and would welcome suggestions for additional outlets.

#### The Derrogatory Articles

The attacks on the Council and on recommended candidates by columnist Holmes Alexander have greatly abated over the course of the past two months, although some further columns did appear. Supporters will be interested to know that, in addition to the congressional discussions of some of these attacks that took place on May 16 and June 8 (reprints of which have been previously distributed) a further lengthy discussion took place on July 1. Senators Dominick, Simpson, Allott, Bennett, Miller, and Thurmond praised Alexander and supported his views of the Council; Senators McGovern, Church, and Clark responded. (McGovern interjected at one point: "I was beginning to think, after listening to the way in which campaign contributions were deplored a while ago, that perhaps some Members of the Senate had found a way to be elected through the power of prayer.") With all of the supplementary material that was included, the discussion runs some sixteen pages in the Congressional Record, and is therefore not being generally distributed; for the information of those who may wish to refer to this discussion themselves it appears in the July 1 Record, pages 15195-15210. As has been previously noted, the derogatory articles and comments are one mark of the Council's growing activities and success. As a footnote, it may be added that the great majority of the contributions returned by Senator Burdick to Supporters (after an early column appeared) have since been resubmitted to the Council.

#### And an Article in Science Magazine

An article on the Council that is very gratifying indeed appears in the August 7 issue of Science (News and Reports): "Scientists in Politics: Council Founded by Szilard Brings Cash and Sophistication to Lobbying." The article describes the formation of the Council, its current activities, and, in some detail, the events concerning Senator Burdick's return of campaign contributions. It concludes: "...If a final stamp of respectability were needed by the Council, that has been supplied by none other than President Johnson, who wrote in June... '...I wish you success in your efforts toward this vital goal.'" "...The Council has never developed on the scale that Szilard had hoped. ...But in a city where lobbys outnumber members of Congress in a ratio of more than ten to one, it is no small thing to be noticed at all, and the Council for a Livable World has done a good deal better than anyone probably had a right to expect." (The entire article is being distributed to Supporters.)



## More Tributes to Leo Szilard

Senator Pell (July 2): "Mr. President, on Saturday, May 30, this country and the world lost a man dedicated to the conservation of human resources and the preservation of peace. Leo Szilard was preeminent among the generation of scientists who discovered and developed the power of the atom.

"Early to conceive of the atomic chain reaction, and instrumental in hastening the genesis of the Manhattan project, Dr. Szilard served effectively and with dedication in the dual capacity of scientist and citizen in support of America's World War II effort. He and Enrico Fermi were awarded the first American atomic patent; and subsequently they collaborated on the letter to President Roosevelt, signed by Albert Einstein, urging the birth of the Manhattan project. It is evident that Leo Szilard was a theoretician, but not merely an idea man in an ivory tower. He was an experimenter, but not solely a technician. Because of his position, he felt deeply his and his colleagues' responsibility for, as President Kennedy put it, releasing the genie from the bottle. Instead of continuing to use his brilliant mind and imagination primarily for the formulation and definition of scientific truths, he turned to the examination of literally thousands of schemes for the propagation of peace. No avenue was too narrow or no course too improbable for study; and all were viewed in the light of reason. Leo Szilard was a rational crusader.

"Dr. Szilard deserves our thanks, for by whatever sensible measure those who are strongly committed to a stand endeavor to fulfill their commitment, they aid their fellows in forming of that stand an opinion that can be acted upon. Dr. Szilard and others like him have assisted all mankind in fashioning our nuclear reprieve.

"As long as we live in the shadow of the atom, we shall remember Leo Szilard."

Senator Clark (June 1): "Mr. President, over the weekend, the scientific community and many ordinary American citizens were saddened by the death of Dr. Leo Szilard. In 1939, Dr. Szilard played a key role in connection with the development--indeed, the invention--of the atomic bomb. Since that time, moved by a conscience which was as high as that of any citizen in the world, he devoted his entire life to people. He was a strong advocate of even complete disarmament under world law. He was one of the organizers of the Council for a Livable World, so unjustly attacked by a certain lady representing a right-wing group--an attack which the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGovern) and I had occasion to rebut in the Senate Chamber, a week or so ago.

"For some time before his death, Dr. Szilard suffered from an incurable form of cancer. Despite this increasing disability, he never ceased in his efforts to bring about world peace. He traveled extensively to Russia, to the Continent, and came to many meetings in the United States. I should say that shortly before he made his great contribution to the development of the bomb, he had been received in our country as a refugee from totalitarianism. I am sure many Senators will join me in expressing publicly their deep sense of loss and deep sense of sympathy for his surviving widow."

Senator McGovern (June 1): "Mr. President, the untimely death on Memorial Day of Dr. Leo Szilard has deprived America of a great defender in war and peace. Dr. Szilard, who fled Hitler's Germany, played a leading role in persuading President Roosevelt of the need to develop the atomic bomb, and, along with Dr. Enrico Fermi, produced the first sustained nuclear chain reaction. In his later years Dr. Szilard worked tirelessly to create international conditions that would assure against the use of the weapon he helped make possible.

"With his constantly searching mind, Dr. Szilard was a never-ending source of ideas, not only in physics, but also in every area of human concern. Some of these ideas went wide of the mark, others were right on the target, but always they stimulated, always they challenged the minds around him.

"The Council for a Livable World was one of Dr. Szilard's ideas, and it was one that is in the interest of a better America. As a professor at the University of Berlin from 1922 to 1932, Dr. Szilard saw Hitler come to power in a vacuum created by citizen apathy toward the operation of government. He was determined to prevent such apathy and indifference in the political life of his adopted country, America. The Council for a Livable World became an instrument through which citizens could express their concern for responsible government. Members of the council, among them many of this Nation's leading scientists and thinkers, pledge a percentage of their income to be used in support of candidates deemed to have the best interest of the Nation at heart.

"The mounting costs of political campaigning in this country has made it necessary for many candidates of moderate means to accept funds from special interest groups. The Council's membership has made campaign funds available to candidates including myself, from citizens whose only interest is good government. For this important contribution to American political life, Dr. Szilard will be long remembered. ...

"To speak with him was ever an exhilarating experience, in which the mind was constantly challenged to reach new heights. With his ever probing mind, he attempted to find new solutions to the age-old problems that trouble mankind, problems made more dangerous today by the innovations in science of men such as Dr. Szilard. He understood, better than most of us, the horrors of nuclear warfare, and he knew his responsibility as a citizen and as a scientist. We are all the beneficiaries of his life and his work."



# LETTERS TO TRIBUNE

*Dr. Freda Szilard*

## Views on Goldwater

EDITOR, MEDICAL TRIBUNE:

Dr. E. M. MacKay's letter pointing out the parallel between the "Goldwater swell" and Hitler's rise to power, while probably not entirely applicable, is nonetheless frightening; at least to those who realize that some 30,000,000 lives were lost by fanatics standing on "principle" and that "victory" somehow didn't settle the problems.

But what is even more frightening is the casual manner in which people, aware of Mr. Goldwater's inconsistencies, his simplistic answers, his contradictions, go on to say, "Oh, the office will change the man," or "Our system has enough checks and balances to prevent trouble," or "He's really a nice guy," or "He really doesn't mean that"—and so on. The common denominator is a lack of awareness that though Mr. Goldwater has not thought through his opinions to recognize their *non sequiturs*, he holds them grimly and with every compulsion to carry them out.

Surely doctors, above all, should think twice before they recommend the awesome powers of the presidency to anyone whose diagnosis of the ills that beset us is shallow and shoddy and whose treatment, therefore, must be nonexistent or irrational.

SAMUEL J. ARNOLD, M.D.  
Morristown, N.J.

EDITOR, MEDICAL TRIBUNE:

In response to the letter from Dr. Eaton M. MacKay, in which he links the Goldwater swell to the rise of Hitler in Germany, I feel that I must challenge these statements.

First, as physicians, one should apply the logical thinking necessary to come to a conclusion. I feel that in this instance Dr. MacKay has not done so.

For example: (1) Hitler was unprincipled in his rise to power—seeking to centralize power and to sweep away all laws. Goldwater has consistently opposed the centralization of power, in fact, seeking to decentralize some of the power of our Government. (2) Dr. MacKay uses the term "far right." This term has a meaning which has wide shades of difference. In the classical sense, it means fascism or dictatorship. In that term, it is approximately the same as socialist or Communist

ideology, meaning that all these terms have their basis in the centralization of power, as opposed to the repository of political power in the people. I doubt whether Goldwater could be called a far righter; a conservative, yes, but in his seeking to decentralize rather than centralize power in his hopes for a constitutional form of government and the preservation of the constitution, the term "far right" is certainly misapplied concerning Goldwater. (3) Hitler's rise to power was born in a depression and fostered by the appeals to a false hope. Contrast this to the Goldwater ideal of facing reality—"you cannot spend beyond your income," "government must have limitations," "all persons are worthy and must be given opportunity, yet all must live under the Constitution." Hitler's idea was to overthrow the established republic; Goldwater's idea is to preserve the established republic. (4) If one will read *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* one will see how dissimilar these movements are, and one also can realize how vicious it is to link Senator Goldwater with the idea and the movement of Hitler.

In the heat of partisan and political battle, let us all strive to base our logic and conclusions on truth and reality and not on passion and prejudice.

A. R. BLUMER, M.D.  
Albert Lea, Minn.

## Smoking and Public Health

EDITOR, MEDICAL TRIBUNE:

Permit me to take issue with Dr. Philip Myers' letter (MEDICAL TRIBUNE, July 20) in which he states, "Cigarette smoking is a health problem but not truly a *public* health problem." (Emphasis supplied.)

Doesn't Dr. Myers know that there are many nonsmoking individuals who have a serious allergy to tobacco smoke which they obtain secondhand from being exposed to tobacco smoke in their environment? Often it takes only one short exposure, such as being in the company of one smoking only one cigarette, to produce allergic symptoms, often of marked degree. Some may even be affected by smelling the breath of a smoker who might not then be in the act of smoking.

The number of persons afflicted with tobacco smoke allergy is not insignificant. . . . Whenever one man's action affects the health of another adversely, his action does become a public health problem and of at least a degree of concern of the public, Dr. Myers' statement notwithstanding.

You are doing a good work in publicizing the evils and harm produced by tobacco. Keep up your good work.

LLOYD ROSENVOLD, M.D.  
Montrose, Colo.

The Only Independent Medical Newspaper in the U. S.

# Medical Tribune

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## COMING NEXT WEEKEND

A special report from Britain will unfold the story of the Aberdeen typhoid outbreak and its mysteries.



## COVER

Medical attention and rehabilitation training are given to this blind boy at a center in India (WHO photo). The nation's major problem now is how to bring medical care to the millions who live in rural areas. See *Foreign Report* on page 8.

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warships to capture after certain formalities merchant vessels employed in the carriage of such commerce. No justification exists for the extension of those rights to an aircraft, which is a new engine of war entirely different in character from a warship and unable to exercise over merchant vessels or private aircraft a control similar to that exercised by a warship over merchant vessels. Consequently there is no reason to confer on a military aircraft the right to make captures as if it were a warship, and no reason to subject commerce to capture when carried in an aircraft. In developing international law the tendency should be in the direction of conferring greater, not less, immunity on private property.

For these reasons the Netherlands delegation has not accepted the rules contained in chapter VII and its participation in the discussion of individual rules has been subject to the general reserves made with regard to the whole chapter.

The majority of the delegations have not felt able to reject the principle that the aircraft should be allowed to exercise the belligerent right of visit and search, followed by capture where necessary, for the repression of enemy commerce carried in an aircraft in cases where such action is permissible. This principle is embodied in article 49 of which the text is as follows:

#### Article 49

Private aircraft are liable to visit and search and to capture by belligerent military aircraft.

#### Article 50

Belligerent military aircraft have the right to order public nonmilitary and private aircraft to alight in or proceed for visit and search to a suitable locality reasonably accessible.

Refusal, after warning, to obey such orders to alight or to proceed to such a locality for examination exposes an aircraft to the risk of being fired upon.

#### Article 51

Neutral public nonmilitary aircraft, other than those which are to be treated as private aircraft, are subject only to visit for the purpose of the verification of their papers.

#### Article 52

Enemy private aircraft are liable to capture in all circumstances.

#### Article 53

A neutral private aircraft is liable to capture if it:

- (a) resists the legitimate exercise of belligerent rights;
- (b) violates a prohibition of which it has had notice issued by a belligerent commanding officer under article 30;
- (c) is engaged in unneutral service;
- (d) is armed in time of war when outside the jurisdiction of its own country;
- (e) has no external marks or uses false marks;
- (f) has no papers or insufficient or irregular papers;
- (g) is manifestly out of the line between the point of departure and the point of destination indicated in its papers and after such inquiries as the belligerent may deem necessary, no good cause is shown for the deviation. The aircraft, together with its crew and passengers, if any, may be detained by the belligerent, pending such inquiries.
- (h) carries, or itself constitutes, contraband of war;
- (i) is engaged in breach of a blockade duly established and effectively maintained;
- (k) has been transferred from belligerent to neutral nationality at a date and in circumstances indicating an intention of evading the consequences to which an enemy aircraft, as such, is exposed.

Provided that in each case (except k), the ground for capture shall be an act carried out in the flight in which the neutral aircraft came into belligerent hands; i.e., since it left its point of departure and before it reached its point of destination.

#### Article 54

The papers of a private aircraft will be regarded as insufficient or irregular if they do not establish the nationality of the aircraft and indicate the names and nationalities of the crew and passengers, the points of departure and destination of the flight, together with particulars of the cargo and the conditions under which it is transported. The logs must also be included.

#### Article 55

Capture of an aircraft or of goods on board an aircraft shall be made the subject of prize proceedings, in order that any neutral claim may be duly heard and determined.

#### Article 56

A private aircraft captured upon the ground that it has no external marks or is using false marks, or that it is armed in time of war outside the jurisdiction of its own country, is liable to condemnation.

A neutral private aircraft captured upon the ground that it has disregarded the direction of a belligerent commanding officer under article 30 is liable to condemnation, unless it can justify its presence within the prohibited zone.

In all other cases, the prize court in adjudicating upon any case of capture of an aircraft or its cargo, or of postal correspondence on board an aircraft, shall apply the same rules as would be applied to a merchant vessel or its cargo or to postal correspondence on board a merchant vessel.

#### Article 57

Private aircraft which are found upon visit and search to be enemy aircraft may be destroyed if the belligerent commanding officer finds it necessary to do so, provided that all persons on board have first been placed in safety and all the papers of the aircraft have been preserved.

#### Article 58

Private aircraft which are found upon visit and search to be neutral aircraft liable to condemnation upon the ground of unneutral service, or upon the ground that they have no external marks or are bearing false marks, may be destroyed, if sending them in for adjudication would be impossible or would imperil the safety of the belligerent aircraft or the success of the operations in which it is engaged. Apart from the cases mentioned above, a neutral private aircraft must not be destroyed except in the gravest military emergency, which would not justify the officer in command in releasing it or sending it in for adjudication.

#### Article 59

Before a neutral private aircraft is destroyed, all persons on board must be placed in safety, and all the papers of the aircraft must be preserved.

A captor who had destroyed a neutral private aircraft must bring the capture before the prize court, and must first establish that he was justified in destroying it under article 58. If he fails to do this, parties interested in the aircraft or its cargo are entitled to compensation. If the capture is held to be invalid, though the act of destruction is held to have been justifiable, compensation must be paid to the parties interested in place of the restitution to which they would have been entitled.

#### Article 60

Where a neutral private aircraft is captured on the ground that it is carrying contraband, the captor may demand the sur-

render of any absolute contraband on board, or may proceed to the destruction of such absolute contraband, if sending in the aircraft for adjudication is impossible or would imperil the safety of the belligerent aircraft or the success of the operations in which it is engaged. After entering in the log book of the aircraft the delivery or destruction of the goods, and securing, in original or copy, the relevant papers of the aircraft, the captor must allow the neutral aircraft to continue its flight.

The provisions of the second paragraph of article 59 will apply where absolute contraband on board a neutral private aircraft is handed over or destroyed.

#### Chapter VIII. Definitions

In some countries, the word "military" is not generally employed in a sense which includes "naval." To remove any ambiguity on this point a special article has been adopted.

#### Article 61

The term "military" throughout these rules is to be read as referring to all branches of the forces, that is the land forces, the naval forces, and the air forces.

#### Article 62

Except so far as special rules are here laid down and except also so far as the provisions of chapter VII of these rules or international conventions indicate that maritime law and procedure are applicable, aircraft personnel engaged in hostilities come under the laws of war and neutrality applicable to land troops in virtue of the custom and practice of international law and of the various declarations and conventions to which the states concerned are parties.

Mr. MORSE. This document reads in part:

The subject of bombardment by aircraft is one of the most difficult to deal with in framing any code of rules for aerial warfare.

The experiences of the recent war have left in the mind of the world at large a lively horror of the havoc which can be wrought by the indiscriminate launching of bombs and projectiles on the noncombatant populations of towns and cities. The conscience of mankind revolts against this form of making war in places outside the actual theater of military operations, and the feeling is universal that limitations must be imposed.

The conduct of the Turkish Air Force in the bombing of Cyprus meets the description of the international jurists—that the conscience of mankind revolts at it.

Article 24 of the code provides:

(1) Aerial bombardment is legitimate only when directed at a military objective, that is to say, an object of which the destruction or injury would constitute a distinct military advantage to the belligerent.

(2) Such bombardment is legitimate only when directed exclusively at the following objectives: military forces; military works; military establishments or depots; factories constituting important and well-known centers engaged in the manufacture of arms, ammunition, or distinctively military supplies; lines of communication or transportation used for military purposes.

(3) The bombardment of cities, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings not in the immediate neighborhood of the operations of land forces is prohibited.

There is no dispute about this question of fact. The bombing of the Cyprus village took place far removed from any military operation—

In cases where the objective specified in paragraph 2 are so situated, that they cannot be bombarded without the indiscrim-



inate bombardment of the civilian population, the aircraft must abstain from bombardment.

That is a rule of war apparently honored in the breach. We are talking now about living up to international obligations. I am talking about the importance of my Government's going on record officially and formally in the United Nations against this violation of the rules of war by the Turks. I do not know why we have been so hesitant to do just that. Is it a matter of national guilt conscience because we may not like to have what we have done thrown back into our face as a slap? We are not in a very good position to talk when only in recent weeks we supplied the modern planes that were used by the Turks for the bombardment, and with fire bombs of American manufacture.

(4) In the immediate neighborhood of the operations of land forces, the bombardment of cities, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings is legitimate provided that there exists a reasonable presumption that the military concentration is sufficiently important to justify such bombardment, having regard to the danger thus caused to the civilian population.

(5) A belligerent state is liable to pay compensation for injuries to person or to property caused by the violation by any of its officers or forces of the provisions of this article.

Mr. President, "time's awastin'." There is not much time left to win a peace in the Mediterranean. I believe the members of the United Nations must act, and act promptly. The United Nations must make very clear to Cyprus and Turkey and Greece that we cannot stand by and permit them to throw all mankind into war which may lead to the third world war.

#### McNAMARA'S WAR

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I turn now to the third and last topic.

It is very interesting to note the rethinking of some of my colleagues in the Senate on the support they gave some days ago to an undated declaration of war, an empowerment in the President of the United States. Some of those who voted for it are now, I notice, making insertions in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and making short speeches to get the matter before the United Nations.

As I said to one of them the other day, I welcome that. I am a great believer in conversion, although it is rather belated. If the same Members of the Senate had stood in the past 6 months with the senior Senator from Oregon and the courageous Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], and joined us in protest of the development of McNamara's war in southeast Asia, we might have changed the course of the United States warmaking in Asia. We might have prevented the United States from becoming a serious threat to the peace of the world that she is in Asia at this critical hour. We might have been able to get our Government to recognize that it cannot escalate the war into North Vietnam, that it cannot endanger the enlargement of the war in Asia, without

great opposition in this country on the part of the people.

Every boy who gives his life in southeast Asia is giving it unjustifiably under a course of action that this Government is imposing which it cannot reconcile with the situation. Not even the resolution justifies the President sending a boy to his death in South Vietnam in the absence of a declaration of war.

The correspondence that I have put in the RECORD from a cross section population of this country, from all groups—great scholars, lawyers, judges, doctors, businessmen, housewives, farmers—leaves no room for doubt that at the grassroots of America this course of action of the United States in continuing McNamara's war does not sit well.

I believe that in the campaign ahead if someone were running on the Republican ticket and campaigning against the warmaking policies of the United States in Asia, the result of the election would be quite different from what it will be, because the American people, I am satisfied, will recognize that they have a better chance of attaining a final peaceful solution under the banner of my party, led by a great President, with whom I disagree only to any major extent in this aspect of his foreign policy.

I believe the American people will understand between now and November that their best hope for peace is with my party. But it does not make me happy that we put them in the position where that is the only choice they have.

We have walked out—and I pray it will be only temporarily—on a great record of American idealism in the field of foreign policy, for we cannot reconcile American warmaking in southeast Asia with the ideals of this Republic; nor can we reconcile the aggressive course with our treaty commitments under the United Nations, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, or the Geneva accords.

In the past 6 months I have developed those international law propositions at great length on the floor of the Senate. I shall do no more than mention them tonight. But before the Senate adjourns tonight for the next 10 or 12 days, I shall say again to the American people that I stand on every word I have uttered in the last 6 months in opposition to the United States warmaking policy in southeast Asia.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the conclusion of my remarks a sampling of the correspondence I have received since the last sampling that I placed in the RECORD, in support of the opposition of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] and the senior Senator from Oregon to American warmaking policies in southeast Asia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MORSE. The tragedy and futility of the American war effort in South Vietnam are becoming more evident every day. Every day's news brings further proof that the weakness of the Khanh government within South Vietnam is a weakness that cannot be overcome by any amount of American support. Every day brings us closer to a full-scale U.S.

occupation of South Vietnam as the only means of preventing a complete Vietcong takeover.

That is the direction in which American policy is heading. If it is allowed to continue, it will entrap the American people in an Asian land war for years to come.

Four more American advisers were killed yesterday. How many more must die before the American people rise up and change the policy that put us into this impossible situation?

How many more Americans must die before even the Pentagon must see that the policy it has been directing in South Vietnam since 1961 is a failure? The McNamara war will never produce a victory. We will win military victories, but we will never win a peace through the prosecution of the McNamara war. The seizure of absolute power by General Khanh, accomplished with the approval of military advisers, is creating more civil unrest than ever among the people of that country. We now read the words "anti-American" to describe the attitude of many South Vietnamese. The rumors that Americans will take command positions in the higher echelons of the war effort is damaging, not aiding, the war effort.

If the present direction of American policy continues, it can lead us only to a more complete involvement of American troops in the Vietnam civil war, and it can lead only to an undisguised takeover of the South Vietnamese Government by the United States.

Running the country by remote control has not defeated the Vietcong. It has not even stemmed the tide of rebel successes. If the Pentagon follows its usual habits of thought, these failures will merely be followed with an application of more of the same. That means an increasing degree of direct American management of the country and direct American participation in the war.

All the talk about the sanitary air warfare and sanitary sea warfare that we might conduct against North Vietnam cannot change the fact that the rebels are winning on the ground in South Vietnam. The new tactic of passive resistance is not one that can be overcome with overwhelming weapons superiority, including nuclear weapons. It bespeaks the failure of military solutions to economic and political problems in South Vietnam, and it is a forewarning that the longer we continue pressing a military solution, the more desperate our position is going to get.

How many more American military advisers must die before we change that position?

How many more forts are going to be wiped out, like the one reported yesterday by what our advisers are quoted as calling a perfectly executed Vietcong attack? How many more tributes to Americans are going to be hauled away, in the dead of night, like the monument to President Kennedy was hauled away to prevent further manifestations of anti-Americanism? How long will it be before the United States means to the people of Vietnam what France meant to them 10 years ago—one more Western



ruler seeking to impose its own objectives upon them?

Must we wait until we suffer 240,000 casualties, as France did? Are we going to wait until 90,000 American boys have been killed in Vietnam and 240,000 seriously wounded? Must we wait until the American people, at long last, say to whatever administration is in control at the time: "We have had enough"?

I raise my voice in these warnings because I am convinced that the American people have already had enough; but our Government is not yet aware of the strong growing dissent at the grassroots of America in protest of the unnecessary and unjustifiable killing of American boys in Asia.

We cannot settle the problems of Asia on the battlefield. The only place they can be settled is at the conference table. That is where we should insist that these problems go, and go immediately.

There is no doubt that the war in Vietnam is going very badly. How much more are we going to ante into the pot before we admit we are playing a losing hand? We have no business promoting any particular government in South Vietnam. We have no business arranging for one dictator to be overthrown by another who will serve our purpose better. We have no business encouraging him to tighten his personal grip on the country in the name of "greater efficiency." We have no business sustaining a war in a country 7,000 miles from our shores, whose people have shown no interest in the policies we have imposed upon them.

We need to be on guard against the danger of getting ourselves involved in a holy or religious war in South Vietnam. The developments in the past few days revive, once again, the great question of a contest between religious beliefs in South Vietnam. The United States has no place and has no right to become involved in a holy war in South Vietnam or anywhere else.

We can fight forever in Vietnam, as the Secretary of Defense once promised to do if we did not have our way, and we can commit our entire Armed Forces to the war, but we never will win the peace. We never will be able to withdraw once we escalate the war. The only prognosis for what we are doing in southeast Asia is that we will have to keep on doing it forever, at an ever increasing cost.

How many more Americans are going to be sacrificed before we have the sense to go to the conference table, or to the United Nations?

I also want to call to the attention of the Senate some of the circumstances surrounding the incident in the Gulf of Tonkin which were not discussed during the recent debate on the Asian resolution.

At the time of the debate on the joint resolution, it may be remembered that the Senator from Oregon, as tactfully as he could, within the rules of the Senate, without violation of any rule of secrecy, charged that the United States was a provocateur in the Gulf of Tonkin. I repeat tonight that the United States was a provocateur in the Gulf of Tonkin episode. The United States was a part and parcel of the escalating of the war into

North Vietnam. The United States was connected with, had knowledge of, but did not try to stop the sending of South Vietnamese naval boats, boats that we supplied, that we armed, and whose crews were trained by us, to conduct the bombardment against the two North Vietnamese islands some 3 to 5 or 6 miles off the coast of North Vietnam.

We had American naval vessels in the vicinity. The Pentagon disputes how far away they were. If they were 75 miles away, they were a provoking element. There is no question that one of them was within the 12-mile limit of North Vietnam at the beginning of the bombardment.

Mr. President, I placed in the RECORD the other night the column written by Jack Anderson based upon his analysis of what some of the documents show. There just is no way to doubt the full knowledge of American diplomatic and military officials in Saigon concerning the plans of this little dictator puppet tyrant that we are supporting and imposing upon 15 million South Vietnamese people—General Khanh. There is no question that we knew of the escalating of the war. As I said the other day, and repeat tonight, that has been the objective of Secretary McNamara for months and months, to escalate the war. That has been the objective of the Ambassador we had over there—Mr. Lodge; and it has been the objective of the present Ambassador, General Taylor. And they prevailed. The question now about escalating the war into North Vietnam is that we have escalated it. We are going to have to be charged in history with that sordid act.

The Providence Journal, of Providence, R.I., brings out some interesting points about the attack on the U.S. destroyer *Maddox*. The editorial states:

The clear indication of both the Defense Department statement and the admiral's remark was that the *Maddox* did not fire until fired upon. This is not at all clear, however, from the chronology which was subsequently released by the Navy. That chronology reads in part:

3:40 a.m.: *Maddox* reported being approached by high-speed (estimated 45 to 50 knots) craft whose apparent intention was to conduct torpedo attack, and that she intended to open fire in self-defense if necessary.

4:08 a.m.: *Maddox* reported being attacked by the torpedo craft. Opened fire with 5-inch battery after three warning shots failed to slow down attackers.

4:08 a.m.: The boats continued closing maneuvers, and two closed to 5,000 yards, each firing one torpedo.

4:21 a.m.: Third attacker moved up to beam of *Maddox* and received direct hit by 5-inch round and at same time dropped torpedo into water which was not seen to run. Machinegun fire from the boats directed at *Maddox*.

Then the editorial points out:

It would appear from this account that the *Maddox* actually fired both warning shots and shots directed at the North Vietnamese craft before the PT boats launched their torpedoes or fired their guns. A Navy Department spokesman has confirmed this interpretation of the chronology.

It ought to be borne in mind that the U.S. warship opened fire while the craft whose apparent intention was to conduct

torpedo attack' were still at least 5,000 yards—nearly 3 miles—away.

The Navy spokesman said that the behavior of the Communist PT boats 'under anybody's rules of engagement' could be 'assumed' to indicate an attack, even at 5,000 yards.

This is a matter of opinion. Three miles is within torpedo range, we are told, but it's a long shot for a torpedo boat, especially for attack against something as maneuverable as a destroyer.

Even on the thesis that the *Maddox* was justified in initiating action, it is still not correct to say she 'returned' the fire of the PT boat. We started the shooting.

These are not among the facts that Americans were given in the President's television message, nor were then pointed out in the general news coverage of the *Maddox* incident.

But they are the kind of facts that have been withheld so long that the American people do not know how we ever got started in the Vietnam war, much less what its objective is. "To make China let her neighbors alone" is the objective the Secretary of State claims for it, but that is so vague, so remote from reality, so implausible coming from a country 7,000 miles away, that it is no standard at all behind which a nation can rally.

The Defense Department is dragging the American people into the quicksands of McNamara's war in southeast Asia. How many more advisers are going to die in those quicksands before the American people take the matter in hand and demand a change of policy in that part of the world?

Mr. President, the saddest chapter that has been written in connection with McNamara's war involves that second attack on the part of the North Vietnamese. It would seem clear now that after the bombardment of the North Vietnamese islands, the discovery of the *Maddox* in the general vicinity of Tonkin Bay was close enough so that she could have come to the assistance of the South Vietnamese boats if they needed it, although the Pentagon claims that the captain of the *Maddox* was not notified. I accept that statement, but of course it is a meaningless statement, for the *Maddox* was under constant electronic communications with the officials in Saigon. In a matter of practically seconds or a minute or two she could have been directed by those electronic communications to proceed forthwith to the protection of those South Vietnamese, American-supplied, naval-armed attacking boat that escalated the war, at long last, as desired by General Khanh, Secretary McNamara, and Ambassador Lodge, and Ambassador Taylor. She could have been sent in a matter of minutes to the protection of those boats. There is no question that her presence in Tonkin Bay, as close as she was to the area of bombardment, was a clear provocation.

I repeat what I said before: What do we think would have been the attitude of the United States if Castro had sent two Russian-supplied, armed PT boats off Key West to bombard Key West, and a Russian destroyer or Russian submarines had been 30, 40, 50, or even 75 or 100 miles from Key West at the time?



We would have sunk the Russian ships, because we would have considered it a clear provocation—and it would have been a clear provocation. We would have sunk them, unless they ran up the white flag and moved into an American port.

Mr. President, we cannot have it both ways. We can be provocateurs too—and we were, in Tonkin Bay. There is no question about the fact that reports had been subsequently obtained on the North Vietnamese PT boats saying that the *Maddox* was in that area. The record is clear that she took to the sea some time before they got into firing distance of her. Although there is dispute about the distance—there is some reason to believe she was only 30 miles away when it became perfectly clear that the PT boats were seeking to overhaul her and in all probability attack her—I am perfectly willing to accept the distance of 60 miles when the actual attack started. It was a clear American provocation—argue all we wish to about the fact that we were in international waters.

We were in international waters because of a threat to the security of North Vietnam after two islands had just been bombed by South Vietnamese naval ships, supplied and armed by the United States. We cannot participate in this kind of military operation and not expect just such incidents as this to occur. That is why I say, "Let us stop the shooting. Let us stop the killing. Let us demonstrate that we believe in peace."

We are making ourselves look absurd when we say through our Government, "The conference table can come later. The conference table can come after we dominate the battlefield."

Mr. President, that is not a country standing for peace. That is a country standing first for war, and then saying, "And we win the war, as the victors, we will sit down and tell you what the terms of peace will be." That is what has been the trouble for centuries. That is why no war has ever produced a peace in all the history of mankind. All that war has ever done has been to produce more wars, with only an interval of time between them, which some have mistakenly called a peace. But so long as mankind, or powerful nations in civilization, believe that they have the right to make war, there will be the danger of war.

The United States is demonstrating that she believes she has the right to make war, for the United States is making war in Asia. And the United States, in McNamara's war in Asia, is walking out on all of her ideals in respect to proclaiming that she stands for peace.

What a mockery we are making of our professing that we stand for the substitution of a rule of law for the jungle law of force. What a shameful record the United States is writing in the pages of history of mankind in this dark hour of 1964.

Until there is a declaration of war, I intend to give no support to my President, or to my Government for its war-making policy in Asia.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the following material: A letter from Edwin B. Hamilton, Columbus, Ohio, supporting the position that I have expressed again on the floor of the Senate tonight, together with an article he sent along with his letter, entitled "X-Ray and Forecast: History Pauses in Vietnam;" an article from the Portland Oregonian, in the column entitled, "The People's Corner," consisting of a letter to the editor by Mr. Griffin supporting my position; two letters to the editor of the Eugene Register-Guard, from Sanford A. Kenney and C. Dun Christensen, supporting my position; and an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch entitled "The U.S. Peril in Vietnam."

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLUMBUS, OHIO,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Let me congratulate you on your honest and candid admission that the United States has some responsibility for the tragic events occurring in Vietnam.

Enclosed is part of a newsletter I subscribe to that deals with many of the unpleasant facts of the southeast Asian area.

I share the view with you that the United States must share the blame for some of the distasteful events of the last week.

Please continue your forthright discussions of this matter.

Sincerely yours,

EDWIN B. HAMILTON.

[From the Wells Newsletter, July 1, 1964]  
X-RAY AND FORECAST: HISTORY PAUSES IN  
VIETNAM

The total bankruptcy of military diplomacy in this age of worldwide revolution—with the vaulted mushroom clouds of nuclear power towering over us—is being dramatically revealed in the southeast Asia crisis. Events seem now to have paused in a period of indecision. Political blunders and military pressures have permitted far too few of the facts to reach the American public. The political pressures are characterized by the Goldwater suggestion that we should drop low-level nuclear bombs to "defoliate" the jungles of Vietnam to expose Communist hideouts. Shouldn't there be some concern about the certainty that the same blasts would sear the trunks and limbs of children, as certainly as the trunks and limbs of trees?

We have learned from U.S. AID personnel in Vietnam that hospitals are so few and so limited in capacity that often most of the beds are filled with wounded children and mothers, with four or five in a bed. The male civilian casualties are left on mats in the hospital yards in rain or scorching heat. Nearly all these are South Vietnamese, wounded in South Vietnam by the South Vietnamese as they turn U.S. artillery fire on Communist penetration points or fly over in S. planes and drop U.S. napalm fire bombs on the villages.

The American public needs to know more about the recent history of Vietnam to understand the gross failures of military policy. (The facts we review here in brief can all be verified in any adequate history of modern Asia.) The entire area was under Chinese rule for over 1,000 years—until the French made it a part of their empire about 100 years ago. When the Japanese drove the French out in World War II, our own OSS operators infiltrated Vietnam to develop guerrilla forces behind the Japanese lines. Our operators discovered a strong independent Nationalist movement, called the

Viet Minh, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh who was trained by the Communists in his youth. During the war, the United States worked with the Viet Minh against the Japanese.

With the Japanese defeat, plans were made for Indochina to be placed under an international trusteeship. The French, after originally agreeing to this trusteeship, reasserted a claim over their former colonies in 1946 and the trusteeship was dropped. The Ho Minh forces demanded independence from France but were promptly and ruthlessly suppressed as the French armies reoccupied the country. The Viet Minh then looked to the United States as their war ally for aid. We ignored them in deference to the French. They then turned to Russia, and the French began bloody suppression of the Viet Minh, using U.S. lend-lease weapons. Ho Minh's forces naturally became thoroughly hostile to the West and gravitated increasingly into the Communist orbit—furthermore they proved far more clever and determined than the French. The war for independence finally culminated in the disastrous defeat of France in the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, after the United States had poured in over a billion dollars in support of the French in Vietnam.

The defeat of the French of course opened Vietnam to the Communists under the Viet Minh whose victory had been achieved almost entirely with U.S. weapons captured from the French or with weapons that had trickled out all over Asia through the fingers of Chiang Kai-shek and his corrupt generals during the preceding years. In order to stem the Red tide, the United States enlisted as anti-Communist Vietnamese Nationalists by the name of Ngo Nimh Diem—a wealthy aristocratic exile. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency began to take over at this point and engineered Diem to his place of power—which soon evolved into a family dictatorship.

The CIA continued to finance Diem even when he tried to crush the rebellious Buddhist sects who challenged his tyrannical authority, for the Diem family were ardent Catholics in a country that is 70 percent Buddhist. Diem appointed only Catholics to positions of top responsibility—often men who were arrogant and oppressive. Naturally this enraged the Buddhists. But none of this bothered the CIA, for "getting on with the war"—no matter what or how—has been the motto of far too many officials in Washington. Neither the CIA nor official Washington evinced concern that the great majority of the South Vietnamese people were embittered against the U.S.-created Diem dictatorship and were willing to welcome their fellow Vietnamese from the North who were still fighting for "independence" under Ho Minh. We kept pouring in the millions while Diem and his family associates became richer and more arrogant, until the regime ended in a gory collapse. This unhappy record is corroborated by the open admission that many of the Communist forces, now called the Vietcong, are South Vietnamese and not from the Communist North.

FROM THOSE WHO WERE THERE

From a symposium on Vietnam and from other sources, we have gleaned much data that contradicts popular reports in our press. Participating in this symposium were Stanley Millet, a professor of political science who taught for 2 years at the University of Saigon; Robert Browne, an economist who spent 6 years with the U.S. aid program in South Vietnam and Cambodia and who returned recently with a Vietnamese bride; Arthur Dommen, who served as a UPI correspondent in Vietnam for 2 years. Other materials came from published reports by Dr. David Arnold of Princeton University who served 14 months with the USIA in Saigon.



The consensus of opinion in the recent symposium on Vietnam was that the Peiping Communist Government is very remote from the South Vietnamese situation. It is now believed that both sides are fighting almost exclusively with U.S. weapons and ammunition, except for a certain quantity of home-made weapons. There is little evidence that weapons have been shipped in from Red China or Russia, and when any are found, the news is headlined far out of proportion to the facts. "If this were not true," commented the UPI correspondent, "why haven't the Red Chinese at least given them anti-aircraft guns with which to shoot down our low-flying planes and helicopters, to say nothing of providing them with planes? They are still banging away at them with their rifles and small shotguns."

The suppression of official battle reports and military information by the CIA and military officers of rank, along with their Vietnamese counterparts, reached scandalous proportions, as Between the Lines has previously reported. Secretary of Defense McNamara made four trips to the battlefields before he could get the facts. The top American generals received only data designed to please them, these reports having been channeled through their Vietnamese collaborators.

As we recently reported, on one trip McNamara was volubly reassured by U.S. generals and the CIA men that the Diem regime was functioning in a strong, effective, and trustworthy manner, contrary to some alarming rumors that were leaking out. Shortly after McNamara returned to Washington, the regime collapsed in the midst of a bloody insurrection that was ardently backed by nearly all the population.

The U.S.-supported South Vietnamese troops have no appetite for killing their Vietcong brothers just because they had turned to the Communist movement for "independence." And the South Vietnamese officers have had no stomach for fighting in the jungle either. Oh, they have been quite dashing in the matter of shelling village areas with U.S. artillery or dropping bombs, including those containing napalm jelly which sprays sticky long-burning gasoline flames over a wide area, destroying the villagers with the villages—all in an effort to destroy a few Red guerrillas.

The South Vietnamese officers run little personal risk in such action—and never even see those who are the victims of their attacks.

[From the Portland Oregonian,  
Aug. 12, 1964]

THE PEOPLE'S CORNER  
COURAGEOUS MORSE

To the EDITOR:

The burden of proof is upon the Oregonian for its charges that Senator MORSE "slandered" President Johnson by claiming that U.S. military presence in South Vietnam serves only the interests of rich merchants and generals in Saigon. Since the allegation of slander, made against a public official, is a serious one I defy the Oregonian to prove both the falsity and maliciousness of Senator MORSE's statement. Show your readers, if you can, what freedom is at stake in the military dictatorship of South Vietnam.

It is obvious that the clouded events in the Gulf of Tonkin, far from being a threat to the security of the United States have merely been a pretext for a show of American military might in the Far East and a prelude to deeper involvement. International waters or not, the stationing of American warships in this secluded gulf can be construed only as a deliberate provocation, the purpose of which becomes suspect in light of recent demands that the war be "carried to the North."

Senator MORSE deserves all of our praise, not your thoughtless criticism, for his courageous efforts to bring the facts of American foreign policy before the public.

PETER A. GRIFFIN.

SALEM.

[Two letters from the Eugene (Oreg.)  
Register-Guard, Aug. 14, 1964]

VIETNAM

To the EDITOR:

Many years ago we thought we could export democracy. We thought we were the livin' end as a model country for other less fortunate countries to pattern themselves after us. Now we have found our ways and methods are not easily accepted by countries with different cultures and civilizations than ours.

During this venture in world politics, we entered into agreements and treaties; one of these was the Geneva Accords of 1954 on Vietnam. Now after many years of futile effort to set up a democratic government in Vietnam, we find ourselves one of the first to violate the treaty. Admitting the Communists too have violated the treaty, two wrongs still do not make a right.

The Johnson administration inherited this unhappy situation from the Kennedy administration, the Kennedy administration inherited it from the Eisenhower administration and so on. Many of us Americans are just waking up to what the situation really is. We find it is one of our own making and it's pretty bad, but we stubbornly continue down a road which has led us into some very serious trouble, trouble that can worsen to the point of all-out war and then still will not have a democracy established in Vietnam.

I think it is time for all of us to seriously and honestly consider the stand WAYNE MORSE has taken on our action in Vietnam. His is the only one that closely parallels the plan we have been pursuing. The U.S. Senators' fleeing from the Senate Chambers when MORSE speaks on this subject indicates that they are not sure what the reaction of their constituents would be and therefore do not want to go on record as voting one way or the other.

BARRY GOLDWATER has dared Lyndon Johnson to "back down" from the stand Johnson took in the recent Vietnam crisis, yet most of the people I have talked to fear a GOLDWATER victory largely because his reckless and belligerent aims could lead into a quite unnecessary war. It is unfortunate for the GOLDWATER supporters that the Vietnam crisis occurred at this time, but I think it presents itself as a real opportunity for us Americans to rally around our Government, giving it our support, admitting we as well as the lawmakers share the blame for the mistakes that have been made and also share in the responsibility of helping get this in the hands of the United Nations where it belongs.

The supporters of WAYNE MORSE owe him a vote of confidence by helping carry the ball a bit at this time and do our country a real service as well. Any rebuttals or additions?  
SANFORD A. KENNEY.

SPRINGFIELD.

BACKS MORSE

To the EDITOR:

I should like to go on record as wholeheartedly supporting Senator WAYNE MORSE's courageous stand on the Vietnam situation, as well as foreign aid.

C. DAN CHRISTENSEN.

EUGENE.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch,  
Aug. 3, 1964]

THE U.S. PERIL IN VIETNAM

Although it may not be easy in the midst of the crisis atmosphere in Asia and in Wash-

ington, Americans could well afford the time necessary to reexamine the U.S. position in South Vietnam. Events of the last week have shown how dangerously close this country is to a far deeper military involvement in the jungles 8,000 miles from home.

Overwhelming congressional support of a resolution backing President Johnson's action in southeast Asia (the Senate vote was 88 to 2, the House 414 to 0) serves admirable notice to the world that although this is an election year the Nation is united behind the Commander in Chief.

And yet the swift passage of the measure eliminated the possibility of a debate on the merits of our Asian policy, one that is long overdue. Perhaps this was not possible under the circumstances; it was important to give the President quick and strong support. But this should not prevent the public from pondering the opposition of Senators MORSE and GRUENING. Mr. GRUENING said: "All Vietnam is not worth the life of a single American boy."

How much is Vietnam worth to us? As Marquis Childs reported: "If the worst should happen, the Johnson administration faces an awesome choice—sending in large numbers of American combat troops or expanding the war with massive bombings in the north. The risks in either course are incalculable. A third choice, getting out of Vietnam, seems impossible in view of what has gone before and in the light of politics in a presidential election year."

The deadly peril of being sucked into an Asian holocaust stems from the fact that the United States cannot control events. If Red China wants war, we could be drawn in against our will. It is unfortunate that we must admit our best hope lies in the probability China does not want a major Asian war. Why should it? Time and geography are very much on the side of the Chinese. The North Vietnamese have been winning the Indochina struggle. And that makes their torpedo attack on units of our 7th Fleet in the Gulf of Tonkin all the more baffling. The United States was wise, incidentally, to halt further patrols in the gulf at this time.

The new state of emergency in South Vietnam may reflect Premier Nguyen Khanh's determination to resist a possible invasion, or to carry the war to the north, as he has been advocating. But it is also a measure of the near collapse of his government. Would a sound regime, even in these straits, find it necessary to empower military courts to impose summary death sentences on all terrorists, saboteurs, and black-market speculators, with no right of appeal?

The facts appear to be that the majority of the South Vietnamese care less about fighting the Communist Vietcong than do the Americans, who have been spending more than \$500 million a year and who have more than 16,000 military advisers with the South Vietnamese forces.

How the United States came to assume the lost French cause in Indochina a decade ago and associate itself with successive regimes in Saigon is a long and tragic story. Regardless of the past, the problem now is how to extricate ourselves honorably. Our present course should be to prevent General Khanh from taking any rash steps that would enlarge the war. President Johnson has made it clear that we seek "no wider war."

A negotiated political settlement is the only possible conclusion to the Indochina struggle, and if the war can be held within bounds a little longer a way to accomplish that may present itself. The United States has no real strategic need for a foothold in Indochina; with its invincible sea and air forces it will be a power in Asia for the foreseeable future.



So any opportunities for negotiations should be carefully considered. Perhaps Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations is right in his belief that the Security Council is not the place to bring about a settlement now. After all, North Vietnam is not a member of the U.N., and neither are South Vietnam and Red China. But discussion in the Council, assembled at the request of the United States, could lead to openings.

Hopefully, these may be found before it is too late. Present indications are that there will be at least a breathing spell, but tensions are high and anything might happen. Would it not be well for Americans seriously to consider whether they want to continue tempting fate in Indochina? We advocate freedom and independence for Vietnam. This is a proper goal, but it can be attained only through a political settlement guaranteed by the big powers—including Red China—operating through or outside the U.N., and not by force of arms.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, although the St. Louis Post-Dispatch has not gone all the way in opposition to the American policy in South Vietnam, it has written a series of editorials in the past many months raising serious questions about our policy in South Vietnam. One of its more recent ones—which I just had printed in the RECORD—is an editorial of August 9, entitled "U.S. Peril in Vietnam."

I shall read a part of the editorial. It reads as follows:

And yet the swift passage of the measure eliminated the possibility of a debate on the merits of our Asian policy, one that is long overdue. Perhaps this was not possible under the circumstances; it was important to give the President quick and strong support. But this should not prevent the public from pondering the opposition of Senators MORSE and GRUENING. Mr. GRUENING said: "All Vietnam is not worth the life of a single American boy."

How much is Vietnam worth to us? As Marquis Childs reported: "If the worst should happen, the Johnson administration faces an awesome choice—sending in large numbers of American combat troops or expanding the war with massive bombing in the north. The risks in either course are incalculable. A third choice, getting out of Vietnam, seems impossible in view of what has gone before and in the light of politics in a presidential election year."

The deadly peril of being sucked into an Asian holocaust stems from the fact that the United States cannot control events. If Red China wants war, we could be drawn in against our will. It is unfortunate that we must admit our best hope lies in the probability China does not want a major Asian war. Why should it? Time and geography are very much on the side of the Chinese. The North Vietnamese have been winning the Indochina struggle. And that makes their torpedo attack on units of our 7th Fleet in the Gulf of Tonkin all the more baffling. The United States was wise, incidentally, to halt further patrols in the gulf at this time.

The new state of emergency in South Vietnam may reflect Premier Nguyen Khanh's determination to resist a possible invasion, or to carry the war to the north, as he has been advocating. But it is also a measure of the near-collapse of his government. Would a sound regime, even in these straits, find it necessary to empower military courts to impose summary death sentences on all terrorists, saboteurs and black market speculators, with no right of appeal?

The facts appear to be that the majority of the South Vietnamese care less about fight-

ing the Communist Vietcong than do the Americans, who have been spending more than 500 million dollars a year and who have more than 16,000 military advisers with the South Vietnamese forces.

Mr. President, the editorial goes on to point out other weaknesses. And, of course, the most tragic mistake we have made is that after the second attack, we had tried to respond to the attack by attacking the attacking ship. We then committed a clear act of aggression. We had no right under international law to bomb the mainland of North Vietnam. That was an act of war on the part of the United States.

It ought to have been followed or preceded by a declaration of war. When the question is adjudicated by an international tribunal, if it ever is, I predict that the United States will be found to be clearly guilty of an act of aggression against North Vietnam. We had the right to sink the attacking boats. We had the duty under international law thereafter to take our allegations as to the violation of international law by North Vietnam—and she was completely guilty of violating international law by attacking our boats on the high seas—to the United Nations. But we had no right whatsoever under international law to proceed to bombard North Vietnam.

That is why we are finding not very much enthusiasm for the American position. We will find less and less if we do not stop this course of action.

Mr. President, lastly, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Southeast Asia Smolders in Dawn of New Disaster," by Edwin A. Lahey of the Knight newspapers.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTHEAST ASIA SMOLDERS IN DAWN OF NEW DISASTER

(By Edwin A. Lahey)

WASHINGTON.—The threat of immediate war with Communist China seems to have receded.

But the southeast Asia peninsula still smolders like a city dump.

The French, who haven't won a bout since Napoleon's day, were forced out of this unpleasant part of the world in 1954, when they had to liquidate their Indochina colony. (The French still own a lot of property there, however.)

Ten years ago, the United States became receiver in bankruptcy for this area, with special emphasis on South Vietnam, the non-Communist portion of a partitioned country.

America had to take up the burden because South Vietnam was the one bastion where we could operate as a retaining wall against the infection of communism, which spreads from China toward the rest of Asia.

With characteristic highmindedness, the United States looked for the government of South Vietnam to install some social reforms, so the average citizen would feel he had been elected to membership in the human race.

President Eisenhower wrote to President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1954 that our money and our military support were pledged to South Vietnam, but, in turn, "the Government of the United States expects that this aid will be met by performance on the part of the government of Vietnam in undertaking needed reform."

Ten years later, even the officials of America are talking about these reforms in the future tense.

This is what impels Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, to declare of our policy in South Vietnam:

"Even the American people know that to say we are defending freedom in South Vietnam is a travesty on the word.

"We are defending General Khanh (the president) from being overthrown, that is all.

"We are defending a clique of generals and their merchant friends who live well in Saigon, and who need a constantly increasing American military force to protect their privileged position."

Senator MORSE's long tirade against our South Vietnam policy has been ignored, not only in recent months, but in the present week, in which torpedo boats of the Communist North Vietnam Navy, with apparent idiocy, attacked units of the U.S. Navy's 7th Fleet in the Gulf of Tonkin.

But even the official accounting of the Agency for International Development to Congress would tend to support MORSE's comments about the failure of our South Vietnamese proteges to bring about some social reform with the hundreds of millions of U.S. dollars that are being poured into the country.

The Agency for International Development reported to Congress in April of this year that "effective political, social and economic programs must be developed (in South Vietnam) to overcome popular grievances and give the peasant an incentive to defend his home and his village."

This is precisely what President Eisenhower was saying to President Diem several billion dollars and 10 years ago.

The government of General Khanh, which overthrew the Diem government last November with apparent U.S. approval, "has recognized the need for fundamental reforms to attract and hold the loyalties of the peasants," the AID report to Congress said 4 months ago.

But the AID officials cagily use the future tense in discussing South Vietnam reforms.

"In general," they said in their April report, "the (Khanh) government has been moving in the right direction, with the proof of sustained effective action yet to be seen."

This is about what Senator MORSE has been saying all along, in much harsher language.

"If war is really too important to be left to the generals, then the American people are going to have to make themselves heard on U.S. policy in Asia," the Oregon firebrand declares.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to commend the Knight newspapers for the courageous journalism that they have displayed in many recent months in high and penetrating criticism of American foreign policy in southeast Asia. The article by Lahey is in keeping with that standard.

In the course of the article Mr. Lahey quotes from a document of AID entitled "Proposed Mutual Defense and Development Program, Fiscal Year 1965." I shall not take time to read the entire section from which he quotes, but I ask unanimous consent that the section on Vietnam, which appears on page 126 of the document, be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the section was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIETNAM

The outcome of the long and bloody struggle against Vietcong aggression in South



Vietnam depends heavily on the Vietnamese Government's ability to carry out a sustained offensive on both the military and the economic fronts.

The Vietcong today has a strong grip on large areas of South Vietnam, particularly in the Mekong Delta. To protect the peasants against Communist attacks, there must be a large-scale military effort against the Vietcong and their local irregulars. Creation and maintenance of local defense forces throughout the country, in addition to attack units, must have top priority. Effective political, social, and economic programs must be developed to overcome popular grievances and give the peasant an incentive to defend his home and his village.

The government established after Diem's overthrow on November 1, 1963, underwent an internal power change on January 30. Gen-Nguyen Khanh who engineered this change, has organized a largely civilian government with himself as Prime Minister. General Minh, previous leader of the Military Revolutionary Council, remains as chief of state.

A major past deficiency has been the failure to assure lasting military security to peasants who had committed themselves to the government's side by moving into the strategic hamlets in parts of the Mekong Delta and several other regions. Against U.S. advice, the strategic hamlets were extended too rapidly into certain areas where effective military protection could not be given, and in such cases were ineffective in sealing off the population from Vietcong influence and control.

The program now is concentrating on secure areas and the consolidation of viable existing hamlets. The original hamlets have succeeded in the great majority of districts, however, bringing the people and Government together in constructive cooperation for economic and social progress and security.

In the period since November 1963, the Government has recognized the need for fundamental reforms to attract and hold the loyalties of the peasants, including higher farm prices, a revised and vigorous land reform program, and honest, effective local government. Action to meet these needs will require strong and imaginative leadership.

The military government has responded to the need to mobilize Vietnam's economic resources for the war effort. Austerity taxes have been instituted on a broad range of imported goods, and plans are being formulated to increase revenues by broadening the tax base and improving tax administration to secure better compliance with the laws. The Government has also indicated a willingness to consider drawing down foreign exchange reserves, if necessary, and to restrict further already reduced and highly taxed luxury imports. In general, the Government has been moving in the right direction, with the proof of sustained effective action yet to be seen.

Mr. MORSE. I quote only the following paragraph:

In the period since 1963, the government has recognized the need for fundamental reforms to attract and hold the loyalties of the peasants, including higher farm prices, a revised and vigorous land reform program, and honest, effective local government. Action to meet these needs will require strong and imaginative leadership.

Mr. President, where are the reforms? It was in 1954 that President Eisenhower wrote that letter that is still being used by the State Department to rationalize and alibi our South Vietnamese program. Of course, that letter of Eisenhower has no controlling effect upon American foreign policy. It provides no

justification for the United States making war in South Vietnam. It is no justification for our violation of the Geneva accords. But even the Eisenhower letter was conditioned upon reforms in South Vietnam. There have been none. The reforms are lacking.

The sad thing is that instead of bringing about reforms, the United States—my Government—has now sanctioned, supported and endorsed the reorganization of the Khanh dictatorship to make it now even more dictatorial, suspending civil liberties and bringing to an end the opportunity for the citizens of South Vietnam to enjoy any freedom whatsoever. Yet our leaders still have the audacity to try to tell the American people that we are in South Vietnam in defense of freedom. What shameful statements. We are not supporting freedom in South Vietnam. We are supporting a military dictatorship, an American puppet. That is going to be the dark, dark chapter in American history which will cause American people and scholars of that generation 50 years from now to ask the question, "What went wrong in the United States when its government decided to support McNamara's war in South Vietnam?"

## EXHIBIT 1

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You are 100 percent right on Vietnam. Keep up the fight for some sense in this matter.

CHARLES B. FINCH.

HARRISON, N.Y.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You have spoken with courage and honesty in the Senate on our shameful acts in southeast Asia. I hope we will hear more of these truths from you. Sincerely,

ANNE GEISMAR.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want you to know that I couldn't agree more with your opposition today to the resolution on southeast Asia which was passed by both Houses today. I am grateful that at least two Senators had the courage to make their opposition heard. I am utterly dismayed at the developments of the last few days and have also communicated my dismay to the President and both California Senators; but of course it is of no use and this is what compounds the dismay. Please keep pounding against our recklessness and our invitation to disaster.

With my profound thanks.

Sincerely,

MISS IRMGARD LENEL.

DENVER, COLO.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your courageous statements on the dangerous, terribly wrong path our Government is following, with regard to North Vietnam.

Many of us are grateful to you and wish there were more men of principle and courage.

Sincerely,

H. W. FORD.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your still, small voice in future generations will be known as the voice of justice. You were outvoted here but hundreds of millions all over the world are with you.

Respectfully,

MAX SOFSKY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR: I admire your stand, and believe every word you said. Too bad we do not have many more with your courage.

We have no business in Asia or trying to tell the world what to do. We should take a look at Mississippi. My hope depends on men like you.

Sincerely,

LUCILLE MARTIN.

AFTON, WYO.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SIR: We are with you all the way. If we only had more men like you with high principles this would be a better world.

Wish you were President.

CARMICHAEL, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your courage and integrity are magnificent. We applaud your stand on Vietnam and many critical issues, and are sorry that we are not Oregonians to reelect you. We hope you continue to be a minority of one—when the cause seems just to you.

Respectfully,

ROSALIND SAETTLER  
Mrs. Paul Saettler.

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Congratulations on your remarks on the bombings in North Vietnam.

Yours is the most courageous and honest voice in the U.S. Government on this issue.

I hope your mail is strong enough to indicate to you that there are others who support you, who have not yet succumbed to the managed versions of world events foisted on us.

RALPH JOHANSEN.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Congratulations again.

Your stand on Vietnam is again a great contribution to a peaceful world. You are truly America's greatest Senator.

DR. WILLIAM ROBBINS.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,

August 7, 1964.

SENATOR MORSE: We heard you on television August 5, and feel you are right in your analyzing this Vietnam trouble our country is into. We are afraid to give our names.

Yours truly,

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,

August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: There are many peace- and justice-loving people in our country who feel helpless as they observe the on-going power struggle and escalation toward war. We are most grateful for your courageous and articulate voice. May it arouse the conscience of our country to accept methods of nonviolence during this crisis.

Gratefully,

Mr. and Mrs. PAUL HENDRICKSON.



August 21

SABASTOPOL, CALIF.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE: God bless you for standing up for peace. You may be alone in the Senate. Not alone in the world, of parents.

With respect,

BERNARD BARUCH ZAKHEIM.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May this card be just one of many thousands to tell you we support and agree with your views on Vietnam.

This seems to be an unpopular view and I can't sign my name, but may you know we're proud of you for having the courage to speak out that our actions are something less than honest or honorable.

Keep up the good work.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 1964.

DEAR SIR: Thank you for your sound, courageous voice. Has everyone gone mad in Washington? This Vietnam incident is madness, surely. You have our deep gratitude.

Respectfully,

A SANE DEMOCRAT.

WOODLAND HILLS, CALIF.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon.

DEAR SIR: I would like to thank you for your forthright stand on foreign aid and the war and our policy in southeast Asia. I beg and urge you to keep to your guns and continue your fight. Foreign aid should be cut at least 50 percent.

More power to you, and may God's blessings be with you.

Yours truly,

ROBERT B. MARS.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SIR: I greatly support your courageous stand on Vietnam and southeast Asia. Congratulations.

What can I do to help? Do you receive any other congressional support?

Yours truly,

MICHAEL S. DUKE.

SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

You are not alone. I can't help much, as we are too ignorant, though I read and discuss and am in a sense well educated. Stay with it.

RUTH SHERRY.

P.S.—Please put me on your mailing list.

WALLED LAKE, MICH.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your determined stand last night on TV, opposing the Tonkin incident political uproar to escalate the Asia war. You are right; our ships had no business there in dubiously international waters, and their behavior was indeed provocative. Especially during administration threats to escalate the war to North Vietnam and even China. These are maneuvers by the U.S. war machine to look big to cover collapse, political and military, in Saigon. Can't you rally the loyal opposition to block the effort to get approval of Congress for these moves in a war illegal from the start?

Yours for U.S. sanity,

R. P. BREDE.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I approve of your stand on Vietnam. I think it is serious enough to be settled by U.N. South Vietnam Government is not democratic and may

not have the people's support for U.S. military aid. It is not becoming for a democracy to give more than economic aid to military governments. We do not need to increase tensions by having warships in Gulf of Tonkin. A nonnuclear government could send aid with U.N. help.

Yours truly,

BECKY MEYER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Good for you for standing up against our involvement in the war in Vietnam, which might, all too easily, become a world catastrophe.

We have far too much military—i.e., planes, missiles, bombs—and we feel we must use them. How are we ever going to have peace?

Let us continue the Geneva conference by all means, but have enough education and favorable publicity with it, so that it will succeed.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGINE C. MOLNAR.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We gratefully support your stand on Vietnam, the only sane voice in the halls of the mighty. Not all of the American people are applauding President Johnson's reckless race to war.

Mr. and Mrs. SYLVAN LEVEY.

DICKINSON, N. DAK.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: How fine it is to have one in Washington who is willing to be honest and admit that we too err. There is no gain from constant lies and they become most dangerous when we believe them.

Ships in southeast Asia from the United States are aggressive.

Sincerely,

P. W. CATON.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you very much for your position on Vietnam. We should have withdrawn all members of the U.S. Armed Forces from South Vietnam long ago.

JOHN H. CLARK.

PACIFIC GROVE, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR: I like what you said when you said it about Vietnam.

V. POPOVAC.

BRONX, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I would like to send to you our heartfelt expressions of appreciation for the very courageous opposition which you have made against the extension of the war in Vietnam. You are, in essence, on the firing lines, and only through the unity of the few Congressmen such as you and "thinking" Americans can we end this suicidal path toward destruction.

T. RICHARDS.

DEAR SIR (SENATOR): If President Johnson would only confer with you, instead of all people, GOLDWATER, on Vietnam.

Cordially,

ED H. BAUMGARTNER.

AMARILLO, TEX.,

August 8, 1964.

Want to congratulate you on the stand you took against the mob all voting blindly for action in southeast Asia.

I agree with you—the whole of Asia is not worth one American life. Let's get our mili-

tary nearer home and out of the way of foreign nations who wish to cause trouble.

JOSEPH N. LOOP.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We support your position on Vietnam. We would also support a southeast Asia policy which would emphasize helping these nations help themselves in economic, cultural, and educational areas instead of in the military area.

A. W. MARCH.

SOUTHERN PINES, N.C.,

Hiroshima Day, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thanks for your anti-war vote. Keep it up and after election maybe it could be policy—we can only hope.

WILLIAM WHITMAN.

CORAL CABLES, FLA.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am proud of your courage in standing up for what you believe our policy should be in Vietnam. That shows real moral integrity. Even though you know you may be risking your political future you are taking a firm stand on the side of justice.

God bless you.

Most sincerely,

Mrs. PEARL C. EWALD.

BRANDFORD, FLA.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Heard your statement on television news last night re resolution requested by President Johnson pertaining to U.S. air raid on North Vietnam. You clearly stated a viewpoint with which I agree 100 percent. I appreciate what you said, and the way you said it. Many thanks to you, Sir, for your statement to the news media on August 5 and also for your vote today against the resolution favoring President Johnson's military action.

Our people are slow to catch on to the behind the scene manipulations to maintain a series of military crisis to influence elections and favor certain segments of our society with the fruits of limited war in the form of economic gain; but they are waking up now. Maybe enough will awaken before it is too late.

I see no sense in our men dying in defense of people who apparently are not willing to defend themselves. Our economic system is rapidly evolving into communism—about as fast as possible without armed revolution. We would do well to spend our energies in search for peaceful solutions to our own domestic problems and maintain military for our own defense.

JAMES D. MCGREGOR.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.:

One of the boys who worked on this picture said this is a place where "nobody hurts nobody else." I wish our world were like that.

As a mother and a settlement art teacher, I extend my heartiest thanks for your stand for peace and freedom in southeast Asia. I weep that there are not more in your camp. Please continue your courageous fight.

MARY DIANE HALLECK.



in South Vietnam. We believe the avenue of negotiation has not been exhausted and more effort through the United Nations should be made to get a settlement. It is encouraging to know you are working along these lines and hope you will continue to do so.

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD KAUFFEL.

ACTON, MASS.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your courageous stand against the resolution (189)—granting the President the Congress power to declare war—deserves the gratitude and support of all Americans.

I am sure that painfully few of us realize that your vote and your convictions are more deeply loyal expressions of faith in the American ideal than any amount of super-patriotism. Those of us who do appreciate your stand—and who wish we could say so in a politically useful way—must be content to thank you, and help widen your nationwide constituency. I am one such and,

Yours sincerely and gratefully,

ELIZABETH H. BOARDMAN.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.,  
August 12, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept this as a thank you for your stand against Johnson over the Vietnam question.

I've followed you in the news and can feel your decisions are very good.

Will you extend my wishes to your Alaskan colleague for his stand with you.

Sincere wishes,

JOE MEIDL.

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In this wave of war hysteria for Vietnam you are one of the few calm minds of major importance taking an extremely brave stand against a majority that seems to be driven by political pressure mainly. It is a sad and dangerous fact, but I feel sure that a large portion of people here and around the world agree with your stand on this extremely dangerous issue and have learned from previous war experience that no war will bring any gain yet terrible destruction. (I spent the last "minor, conventional" war as a young girl in Hamburg, Germany.) Immediate negotiations through the United Nations could still change the course—help in form of food, clothing, housing, rebuilding of the economy, etc., in South and North Vietnam would defeat the enemy fast.

In support of your most important fight to prevent more disastrous consequences I have taken part in the Hiroshima memorial vigil in Los Angeles and sent telegrams to President L. B. Johnson and Senators THOMAS KUCHEL, PIERRE SALINGER, J. W. FULBRIGHT, and HUBERT HUMPHREY.

May I use this opportunity to thank you most sincerely for the great service you are doing all peace-loving people. May the commonsense prevail again that has prevented an outbreak of a major war in other critical situations.

Yours gratefully,

TAMARA MERZBEACH.

PONTIAC, MICH.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: The exultation I felt for your opposition to the "tide of reaction" during this present crisis, leaves me some hope that perhaps insanity hasn't invaded all of us. President Johnson's

reasons for taking drastic measures in Vietnam leaves me absolutely "cold". Our warships have absolutely no business flirting and harrasing the North Vietnamese. Our military leaders must have taken a page from "Dr. Strangelove," and have decided for the American people what action should be taken, and our "great" President only explained the action as conforming to our "defense" policies. Forgive me, but I cannot help being sarcastic when all reason has disappeared from the American scene \* \* \* except your reasoning. A hope, a small light, a glimmer, that's all that remains. What's left for me? for you? for a small segment of thinking Americans? What's left? I dare not explore this matter further because what I fear, may become a reality. Therefore, I must take courage that all cannot be for naught, that someday, somehow, reason and truth will be once again restored amongst us, because we willed it so, and that no one can put it asunder, and endanger the lives of any one citizen let alone the entire American people.

You, Mr. MORSE, should be highly commended among the great men of our times and I hope that your voice and mine and others shall never be stilled until reason has been restored to this mad, mad, world.

With great respect and admiration,

Very truly yours,

MARGARET E. BEGOVICH.

P.S.—Please forgive the mistakes. My typewriter is in poor shape and so am I. However, I want you to know that I am at your service if something should come up which I could in any way help. I feel that I am your friend and I want to be your friend when you need me.

CEDAR FALLS, IOWA,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I was glad to see that you did not join the stampede to give Johnson his war declaration.

In my opinion, Congress is entirely too war eager for the good of this Republic.

Cordially,

F. B. PARKS.

MT. RAINIER, MD.,  
August 11, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your statements before the Senate regarding Vietnam were appreciated by at least this American. Though you may be a voice crying in the wilderness, there are some in that wilderness who hear.

Sincerely,

MRS. MARIE G. ALL.

DETROIT, MICH.,  
August 9, 1964.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am a grandma with a lively interest in the world of affairs: Presidents, politicians, unemployment—and world peace.

I have a B.A. in education and an M.A. in economics; earned in the dark 1930's, also 35 story credits at WXYZ, an ABC affiliate studio here. I've taught vocal music, harmony, piano, and conducted a cappella choirs. Students of mine teach in universities, play in big name bands, publish their creative opuses and make hit records. I've had a rewarding career.

Now that I'm retired and my family (husband and son) deceased, I try to stay abreast of public figures and their contributions to this war-weary, blundering family of nations. I intrude on your valuable time (if this gets past your staff of secretaries) to make a contribution as seen from the distaff point of view, relative to your TV interview and suspicion of L.B.J.'s honor, horsensense, or

trustworthiness in the face of attack on the United States of America.

Many people—women and men—feel confident that the late John Kennedy had a truer bead on him than yours, or he'd not've openly selected L.B.J. as his runningmate in 1960. Not one word ever spoken, or written, by Mr. Johnson indicates that he'd rush American boys into the maw of war due to loss of face, hurt pride, impatience, or self-importance. He only seeks to cut tape if the Vietnam crisis worsened. Of course, cutting short the time-consuming argument and debate among males in Congress who are charmed by the sound of their own voices—on both sides of that aisle—may lose disgruntlement so much so that they feel sold short or something.

The price of White House status is the real "American tragedy"; assassination or wastless punishment of a human being who isn't necessarily superman. In years past, Senator, when you played political maverick, to the secret delight of kindred American spirits, and brushed off popular opinion, you had more admirers, many of whom were recently disillusioned by your anti-Johnson "warning," which had absolutely no basis in fact for average Americans.

Everyone's reflexes and judgments suffer from the inroads of time, Mr. Senator, So-o-o, haven't you chosen—at a time when our beset leader most sorely needs a maximum of trust and loyalty—to be "different" merely to be different?

Reflex action versus serious thought?

A rut of habit now easier to make deeper, than not?

At this late date, is it not a pity to becloud your "sincere individualist" image by that of a senile, crotchety oddball? If the GOP's candidate were in L.B.J.'s sorry, unsought dilemma, I'd agree with you 99<sup>44</sup>/<sub>100</sub> percent. He'd "misquote" us smack dab into an atomic holocaust.

That even saving precious time in a crisis is not worth endowing an impulsive, self-righteous, self-important, self-made power-seeker with rights to wage unprovoked war, even if Commander in Chief—God forbid.

I and a lot of women would wager their right arms that our man in the White House is too dead serious about preserving the peace, to allow America to go down in history as a trigger-happy aggressor; no better than the Reds who lack all sense of honor or ethics—and lie, lie, lie, to sell their ideology to southeast Asia's ignorant, idle, hungry people—or wherever hunger rules and fear stalks.

Don't you owe LBJ a reconsidered retraction?

You'd be a bigger, better, man for it. (Not judged a modern-day Judas.)

The GOP has had its own Bobby Bakers (Sinclair and the Teapot Dome, its Billy Sol Estes—offshore oil rights and the steel "gray market," after V-J Day)—so should hesitate to cast the first stone, as they say, yet they will.

Why not give logic and objectivity a chance?

Sincerely,

RUTH MOFFAT.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

SENATOR MORSE: I wish to address myself to a major problem, one which I think you might well have thought seriously of. I am writing to you, instead of some other Senator, because I respect the fact that you have not passively followed the Johnson administration as have most other Democrats. I am a Democrat myself and do have serious reservations in the course taken by the current administration, particularly in foreign policy.

Usually, I do not write letters, because they are almost always answered by secretaries



and the Senator does not receive the communication himself. This is part of the problem I hope to outline. I sincerely hope that you will personally have time to read and acknowledge this letter, as I think it covers a problem, possibly the most important in today's United States.

To begin with, I am in complete agreement with you, that our forces should be taken out of Vietnam, then if any action is to be taken, it must be exercised by the United Nations. However, after the happenings of the past few days, it may be too late for us to withdraw. The Red Chinese have accused the United States with fabricating the attacks on an American destroyer. I do not know how much truth may be attached to this accusation, but I do think the retaliatory action taken by this country was uncalled for and too severe.

There are many other measures that we could have adopted short of this serious revengeful method, which might have brought results—conference, inquiry, protests, etc.

I am in opposition to such policies of our Government. I know many other people who feel the same way. The most galling and frustrating part of our situation is that our "little old" citizens have nothing to say. We vote for the presidential candidates put before us or we do not vote. If we write Congressman, our letters are answered on form letters and filed in wastebaskets, and often put on the "crank" list, if they are radical in nature. What can a citizen do, when he has an honest complaint? He is powerless, helpless to express his will against the overpowering monopoly on voice and will and thought, exercised by our Government. I know you have addressed yourself to this most important problem before, and hence I write to you.

I cannot sit back and watch others determine my future and maybe make decisions which will cost me my life in a nuclear war. I cannot passively accept this as my fate. But what can I do and what can others like me do? We are shouted down like Rockefeller before the screaming hordes which determine policy and too often, control.

It appears to me that the action taken, for instance, in South Vietnam yesterday and today, might very well be a political strategy by President Johnson to win in November, something which is not so certain as many would have us believe. GOLDWATER has strength, and I am horrified when I even contemplate the possibility of his being our President. I am not in favor of many of the policies of President Johnson, but I would vote for him in a second, just to defeat GOLDWATER. I have no other choice. But if Johnson is playing with our lives in southeast Asia, as is very possible, I would find it most difficult to support him, either.

What can intellectuals and other concerned citizens do today in this country to make themselves heard, listened to, and to help make policy and decisions? President Kennedy was one intellectual who did do something concrete along these lines, I believe, but there are too few of these people in public life.

I sincerely hope you may find time, from your busy schedule, to answer me personally concerning this vital matter, which, to use a worn-out cliché, is a matter of life or death. Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

MICHAEL YALE.

NEW YORK, N.Y.  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I agree wholeheartedly with you and your comments as report-

ed by the New York Times of today, and compliment you on your courage to state your view.

Most sincerely,

ANNA GOTTFRAIS.

LONG ISLAND, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are fully in agreement with your position against involvement in Vietnam. Who appointed us policemen for the world? This matter should be handled through the United States.

It is terrible to think that so many lives of our boys should be risked in a place where we really have no right to be.

God bless you for your courage and integrity.

Sincerely and gratefully,

Mrs. ALFREDO VALENTE.

#### THE CIVIL WAR IN VIETNAM: BACKGROUND AND PROSPECTS

#### THE UNITED STATES IS HEAVILY INVOLVED IN SOUTH VIETNAM

The recent events in the Bay of Tonkin have brought the world once again to the brink of disaster. It was easily predictable that the ever-increasing military intervention of the United States in the unhappy Vietnamese civil war would inevitably lead to open conflict between U.S. forces and those of North Vietnam.

Amidst the whirl of charges and countercharges as to which side provoked the crisis, the overriding goal must be immediate negotiations to defuse the explosive situation.

Perhaps never before has the United States been in a more untenable political, moral, and military dilemma than the one which now confronts us in the steaming jungles and the rice paddies of South Vietnam.

There—despite official denials of our combat involvement, despite short-lived bursts of exuberance over minor skirmishes, despite loud assertions that we are supporting responsible government and freedom against Communist subversion—the great and powerful United States is rapidly losing respect and influence, men and money, dignity and maneuverability.

Despite American casualties in the hundreds and expenditures in hundreds of millions, the U.S. military and political position in South Vietnam is becoming increasingly desperate, and our frustrated military leaders are calling for "escalation" of the war, which means, essentially, using nuclear weapons and getting on with World War III.

Such hysteria is eloquent confirmation of the administration's most poorly kept secret: that 16,000 crack U.S. military "advisers" and 250,000 South Vietnam military forces, supported by extensive U.S. arms and chemical warfare techniques, can achieve no more than a stalemate, and possibly not even that, against some 25,000 ragged guerrilla fighters. Obviously, these guerrillas must be receiving tremendous aid and support from South Vietnam's civilian population. Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of South Vietnamese are not only refusing to support their Government, they are actively opposing it. Unfortunately, they are permitted no other channel for registering opposition to their Government than that of giving support to the guerrillas. Thus the Vietnam war is essentially a civil war. As Senator WAYNE MORSE of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee says: "There are no Chinese in South Vietnam. There are no Russian soldiers in South Vietnam. The only foreign soldiers in South Vietnam are U.S. soldiers." (March 25, 1964.)

#### HOW DID THE UNITED STATES GET INTO SUCH A LUDICROUS POSITION?

It was in 1954 that the U.S. interest in South Vietnam, as well as in neighboring Laos and Cambodia, began in earnest. After almost 8 years of frustrating hide-and-peek warfare with Vietnamese guerrilla forces, the exhausted French gave up the struggle to retain their colonies in Indochina and joined with eight interested nations to negotiate a cease-fire agreement at Geneva. The temporary partitioning of Vietnam into Communist and "democratic" portions, pending nationwide elections, was the most significant provision of the conference agreements.

Fearful of the alleged "vacuum" created by the French defeat and withdrawal, the U.S. Government handpicked a leader for the newly independent "democratic" South Vietnam and promptly committed the resources and prestige of the United States to building a "free and independent" South Vietnam to serve as a bulwark against the spread of communism and as a model example of what a new society could achieve by alining itself with the United States.

Unfortunately, the virtual impossibility of implementing such a program in that locality and at that juncture of history was not realized by our statesmen, due in large measure to our abysmal ignorance of that part of the world (e.g., when the author was preparing for his assignment to Indochina in 1955, it was impossible to find Americans in Washington who had extensive firsthand experience in that area). This unrealistic policy was further hindered by clumsy execution. Our choice of Mr. Diem as the leader for South Vietnam proved to be disastrous as he and his corrupt and dictatorial family quickly came to symbolize precisely the sort of tyranny against which our efforts were meant to be directed.

Widespread disaffection developed which had its origins in a variety of factors. Popular discontent with the cruel and oppressive tactics of the Diem government was reinforced by religious and sectional grievances. The excessive economic dependence of the new government on massive injections of U.S. aid, and the resultant attachment of South Vietnam so completely to the U.S. global political strategy, offended the sensitive nationalism of the Vietnamese people. Diem's negative responses to repeated overtures from the north for establishment of trade and other relations, and his refusal to hold the elections for unification in 1956 as outlined in the cease-fire agreements, further aggravated the dissatisfaction with the government and, by extension, with the United States, whose hand was widely believed to be directing government policy. Not surprisingly, Communist North Vietnam, once she had succeeded in bringing a measure of order to her own shattered economy, proceeded to add to the agitation and disorder which was engulfing the government of the south.

The Diem government responded to criticism and opposition by adopting a policy of crushing those whose views did not coincide with its own, or labeling them as "Communists"—a policy which has been substantially followed by its successors. The rationale, offered by the U.S. State Department for its continuing support of the autocratic and unpopular Diem regime and its successors, was that they, like ourselves, are intensely dedicated to fighting the Communists—an observation which totally ignores the obvious fact that, if their people reject them, their fierce dedication is of little avail.

#### THE U.S. BUILDUP COMMENCES

By 1960 sizable portions of South Vietnam were under the control of anti-Government forces. In 1961 the decision was made to



introduce a major American military presence into Vietnam. By 1962 there were estimated to be upward of 16,000 American military forces stationed there, equipped with enormous supplies of U.S. military gadgetry for themselves as well as for the swollen Vietnamese Army.

Enthusiastic U.S. support was provided for a variety of inhuman pacification tactics of dubious effectiveness. Entire rural communities were arbitrarily resettled in prison-like camps to prevent their providing succor to the rebellious forces. New chemical-warfare tactics, introduced to defoliate wooded areas, had the side effect of destroying crops, a fact which did not deter us from using them. Brutal tortures and the burning of entire villages were undertaken as a means of extracting information about Vietcong and other rebels from sympathetic peasants. Practices, whose cruelty revolts civilized men and which must certainly be considered "crimes against humanity" if that term has any meaning whatsoever, became standard procedure.

Not surprisingly, the more destructive and grotesque the combat tactics, the greater became the resentment of the local peasantry which had to bear the wrath of both antagonists (more than 80 percent of Vietnam's population is rural). The area of the country under rebel control continued to increase, and the number of guerrilla recruits to the rebels' cause grew to the currently estimated 25,000, with sympathizers, perhaps running into the millions, providing food and shelter. Defections from the South Vietnamese Army itself have become increasingly a problem, and most of the rebels' weapons are reported to consist of U.S. arms which have been captured by, sold, or given to the rebel forces.

#### WHAT IS THE U.S. IMAGE IN VIETNAM?

There is, of course, no way to distinguish pro- from anti-Government sympathizers amongst the local populace. The tall, fair-skinned Americans are the only obvious intruders, a fact which gives eloquent credibility to the widespread charge that we are the new colonialists.

To the Vietnamese who watch their country being ravaged and their people being mutilated by the airpower and mysterious chemical agents which we have supplied, the idea that the United States may be using Vietnamese territory to achieve American objectives becomes increasingly convincing. Our protestations that we are fighting for liberty ring hollow when it is only by the force of U.S. support that the unpopular South Vietnamese governments have been able to achieve and retain power. Our exhortations that communism must be defeated seem irrelevant in an area where other foes are much more tangible. More recently, our talk of introducing nuclear weapons awakens latent memories with racist overtones potentially more explosive than the A-bomb itself. U.N. Secretary General U Thant, himself a Burmese, even felt obliged to warn the United States of how such a decision would be viewed by Asians. He said: "Such action is sure to generate widespread resentment and bitter criticism, particularly from quarters which so far have not been very vocal, and have not been very outspoken regarding the situation in southeast Asia. In 1945, when atomic bombs were dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, there was a widespread feeling in many parts of Asia that these deadly atomic bombs were dropped on Japanese cities because the Japanese were nonwhites."

The American public has been intentionally victimized throughout this entire adventure. The genuine complexity of the situation has been made particularly unintelligible by distorted reporting and a partial blackout on news from the area, apparently at the instigation of Washington authorities. According to a recent New York Times editorial

(July 29, 1964), "the Government's negative—indeed repressive and distorted—news policies obscured both the purposes and progress of the war. The public was not only misinformed by Government spokesmen but unpalatable facts were withheld and the truth subverted." The shifting pronouncements and blatant contradictions of Secretary McNamara have exasperated Members of the Senate as well as the press and the public. Optimism and gloom have played tag in official Washington views since early 1961. Troop cutbacks have been made, only to be reversed within a few months. McNamara's predictions, reiterated as recently as February 1964, of essentially total U.S. military withdrawal by 1965, have been replaced by an announcement (July 27, 1964) of a 5,000-man increase in our Vietnam military mission and by talk of 20 more years of warfare.

Similar contradictions can be found between the sympathetic support which rebel forces obviously receive from the rural populace throughout South Vietnam and the claim of Premier General Khanh that "the people have called for the war to be carried to the North." Guerrilla insurgents can succeed only when the surrounding population provides them aid and cover, a fact which accounts both for the success of the rebel forces in the South and the failure of attempts to carry out subversion in the North. Speculating on the wisdom of U.S.-sponsored infiltration of the North, the New York Times' military specialist, Hanson Baldwin, said: "The population of North Vietnam is unlikely to be friendly." Actually, the commander of South Vietnam's Air Force announced at a press conference on July 22, 1964, in the presence of top-ranking U.S. officers, that combat teams have been infiltrated inside North Vietnam for at least 3 years, with no apparent success.

Massive aerial attack on North Vietnam, on the other hand, requires no popular support whatsoever. At the same press conference on July 22, Air Commodore Ky announced that 30 pilots had been specially trained to bomb North Vietnam. "We could go this afternoon," he said. "I cannot assure you that all of North Vietnam would be destroyed, but Hanoi would certainly be destroyed."

The extent of the direct involvement of the north in the insurgency activities has in fact been a subject of considerable disagreement among knowledgeable observers. As recently as March 1964, Pulitzer Prize winning reporter David Halberstam, of the New York Times, reported: "The war is largely a conflict of southerners fought on southern land. No capture of North Vietnamese in the south has come to light \* \* \*". By mid-1964 charges of actual intervention of North Vietnamese military forces in the southern struggle were being heard with increasing frequency. Although not yet substantiated, should such reports in fact prove true they would certainly indicate a widening of the framework within which this civil war is being fought. Key U.S. leaders have admitted, however, that aerial bombardment of North Vietnam would, by itself, be unlikely to improve substantially the situation in the south.

There are also significant byproducts which deserve serious consideration with respect to bombing North Vietnam. Such an action would further fasten upon the United States the image of unprovoked destroyer of Asian peoples and their property. It would accelerate the conversion of Vietnamese Nationalists to pro-Communists, a shift which our obtuse policy has been accomplishing in the south for quite some time. Furthermore, such an attack would push North Vietnam firmly into the arms of China to which she would obviously have to turn for support. Thus we would accomplish for the Chinese the very objective which they have so far

not achieved for themselves: the expansion of Chinese power far south into the Indochina peninsula.

#### WHY DO WE REMAIN IN SOUTH VIETNAM?

In their more candid moments our leaders argue that, ugly as the situation may be, U.S. prestige in Asia is at stake in South Vietnam and can be salvaged only by victory. Although it is true that our prestige has suffered seriously, it does not follow that any sort of conventional "victory" is likely or even possible. In such circumstances prudence may dictate that avoidance of further humiliating defeat is the best means of "saving face."

A fundamental consideration is needed of just what "victory" means in the Vietnamese context. The war is not a conventional one of armies and battlefields. Neither is it a simple struggle of international communism against capitalism, as some of our demagogic leaders assert. Nor yet is it merely the current installment of the historic struggle between Imperial China and her small neighbors. Certainly both the ideological and the imperialistic factors are involved to a degree. Basically, the Vietnamese war is a civil conflict with a strong nationalistic base. There is little for foreigners to "win" in such a conflict, short of destroying perhaps a majority of the Vietnamese people, it is unlikely that we will ever succeed in molding a Vietnam tailored to American desires.

It is pitiful and frightening that our leaders insist upon ignoring these domestic roots of the civil war in South Vietnam. We seem unable to realize that killing Vietnamese people and destroying their homes increases rather than reduces their hostility to us. Our utter failure to grasp this obvious fact was demonstrated by our former Ambassador to Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge, when he was asked upon his return to the United States how the war would end. "It will end when there aren't any more Vietcong insurgents," he said. "That doesn't mean that they're all dead. It means they've decided not to be Vietcong any more. And the reason they decide not to be Vietcong any more is that it's too dangerous—they're liable to be killed." (The New York Times, June 28, 1964.)

Even were our might to prevail in South Vietnam's civil war, the presence of neighboring China, with over a quarter of the world's people, would make futile the attempt to create a stable and peaceful southeast Asia. We cannot ignore China's existence and its natural interest in any political settlement in that area. There is, of course, a school of thought which views Vietnam as merely one outpost in a strategic chain of installations which the United States is constructing for the purpose of meeting Red China head-on. Vast jet facilities and supporting bases, far surpassing conceivable requirements for actions restricted only to Vietnam, are being prepared there to complement similar installations in Thailand. In this view, Vietnam is only a rehearsal and staging area for the real confrontation which is yet to come. Ignoring the military futility of such crucial installations in a region likely to be so hostile as to render sabotage or capture by enemy forces almost inevitable, one is appalled by the cynicism of this attitude as well as by the horror of its immorality.

#### THE PEOPLE CANNOT BE FOOLED FOREVER

Many people are becoming increasingly restive over the situation. A number of our allies have attempted to disassociate themselves from our actions in South Vietnam. France has openly advocated neutralism for the Indochinese states and has accepted the fact that China must be recognized and dealt with as a power in the area if conditions are ever to be stabilized. Our efforts to convince our other NATO partners to support our Vietnam policy have met with little sympathy. The majority of Asian nations shy



away from taking a positive stand on either side of the conflict, many of them maintaining relations with both Vietnams and avoiding public comment about the civil war. However, neighboring Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk, who has had phenomenal success with a neutralist policy, has long predicted a victory for the Vietnamese rebel forces. U Thant has said that "military methods will not bring about peace in South Vietnam," and he suggested that the Geneva agreements might profitably be revived.

Here in our country, protest against the official policy in South Vietnam has been increasing as news reporting from Vietnam has fought itself somewhat free of the strictures imposed by the Department of Defense and as public opinion has begun to react to the frequent contradictions and sharp reversals in the administration's own accounts of what is taking place.

The ever-increasing magnitude of our expenditures is also a growing cause of concern among both administration supporters and opponents. Senator DIRKSEN, in predicting that the \$1½ million of aid per day to South Vietnam would shortly rise to \$2 million, complained that in South Vietnam itself: "We appear to have made no real progress." Other citizen groups have expressed abhorrence at our country's so completely subsidizing and dominating the economy of another nation, including paying the salaries of its army. This is indeed a type of "invisible" colonialism which, nevertheless, becomes quite visible in Washington's outrage whenever the South Vietnam Government unilaterally decides to embark on a course of action of its own choosing.

In 1963 some 17,000 ministers of all faiths protested to President Kennedy against support of the dictatorial Vietnam Government and the immorality of our chemical-warfare tactics against the Vietnamese people. More recently 5,000 college and university professors have presented a petition to the State Department asking that the Vietnamese war be ended and Vietnam neutralized.

In the U.S. Senate several Senators consistently protest "Secretary McNamara's war," although their statements are generally not reported by the mass media. Curiously, this group includes both Senators from Alaska, one of the States most sensitive to political developments in the Pacific region generally. Alaska's Senator GRUENING recently declared: "The time has come to cease the useless and senseless losses of American lives in an area not essential to the security of the United States. This is a fight which is not our fight, into which we should not have gotten in the first place. The time to get out is now, before the further loss of American lives."

#### WHAT HAPPENS IF WE PULL OUT?

Certainly for Americans or for any foreigners to plan and impose a peace policy on the Vietnamese people would be as presumptuous, as objectionable, and as foolhardy as has been our practice of imposing a war policy on them. Satisfactory terms upon which a settlement may be reached can be decided only by themselves, for theirs is basically a civil war with myriad nuances only dimly comprehended by outsiders. Indications are that the South Vietnamese people are interested primarily in ending the war. It is we who are most concerned about winning it. Unfortunately, the succession of U.S.-backed governments in South Vietnam has ruthlessly repressed open expression of such sentiments, and General Khanh has even staged demonstrations and attacks on the French Embassy to symbolize his people's alleged hostility to a neutralist solution. Buddhist leaders have been condemned for suggesting neutralization and politicians known to support neutralism are in exile or in prison. Under such conditions it is obvious that a genuine reflection of

popular wishes can be obtained only when the United States decides to stand aside and permit all contending factions to vie for popular support.

Admittedly, if there is sufficient support for them among the people, Communist elements might well gain control of a freely elected government, a fact of life which we should be prepared to face. There is, however, considerable evidence that a genuinely representative South Vietnam Government, whether Communist or non-Communist, would opt for peace and neutrality, perhaps under international guarantees. It is also likely that North Vietnam, or even a Communist-oriented, unified Vietnam, would welcome an opportunity to minimize its dependence on China, the historical "imperialist" of Asia. Consolidation of the complementary economies of North and South Vietnam would help to accomplish this by permitting the Southern rice surplus to fill the North's rice deficit, at the same time catering to the nationalistic passion which so dominates Vietnamese thought. The recent fissures in the Communist bloc suggest that nationalism will increasingly assert itself over monotheistic communism, and a unified or federated Vietnam would enjoy much greater maneuverability to pursue such a course.

The precise form which any negotiated solution might take can hardly be predicted at this time. Public statements by the National Liberation Front, spokesman for the bulk of the insurgent forces, concentrate on demands for a cessation of U.S. intervention in South Vietnam affairs. According to Georges Chaffard of *Le Monde*, the Front favors a neutral belt to include South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos and does not want South Vietnam to become dependent upon North Vietnam. Other rebel elements, more closely oriented toward North Vietnam, give high priority to unification of the country.

The continuing crisis in neighboring Laos cannot be settled until there has been a settlement in Vietnam, nor are our touchy relations with Cambodia likely to improve so long as we obstruct efforts to bring peace along her frontier. Cambodia has twice complained to the U.N. about U.S. violations of her border: First, charging that Americans participated in a bombing mission which killed 17 Cambodians, and second, charging us with the aerial spraying of destructive chemicals over Cambodian territory. Such incidents do us no good but great harm; they could even serve to ignite a major conflict.

The idea of reconvening the 1954 Geneva Conference which ended the French-Indochinese conflict has been revived periodically, most recently by U Thant (July 9, 1964). The U.S. response to this suggestion has been essentially that until the existing agreements are respected no purpose would be served by another conference.

Considerable doubt is cast on the sincerity of this response in view of the well-known fact that some of the most blatant violations of the Geneva accords have been committed by the United States or with its encouragement. Probably the most crucial term of the Geneva cease-fire agreement was the provision for nationwide unifying elections to be held by June 1956. The South Vietnam Government, correctly afraid that it would lose such an election, if for no other reason than its smaller population, adamantly refused to honor this provision in 1956, and has steadfastly continued to refuse to permit unification elections despite periodic demands for these elections by the North (both South Vietnam and the United States hide behind the technically correct claim that they never signed the Geneva agreements). Other provisions of the agreement prohibited the introduction into Vietnam of any additional military personnel (art. 16) or armament

(art. 17) and forbade the establishment of new military bases (art. 18). By 1956 both North and South Vietnam had been found guilty of violating these conditions. The massive buildup of U.S. forces in 1961, including the construction of jet air bases, was all done in knowing violation of this agreement.

Another approach has been that of General De Gaulle. He proposes that the United States, the U.S.S.R., China, and France withdraw from Indochina and that a massive economic and technical aid program be substituted for the fighting. This proposal, and indeed the entire idea of taking the Vietnamese conflict to the conference table, was summarily rejected by President Johnson (press conference, July 24, 1964) within 24 hours after the General suggested it. Such haste indicated a rigid and unthinking response.

Any course of action is risky, but almost none is more risky than the one we are following. As mature individuals Americans must realize that we cannot dictate to every corner of the globe, nor do we win respect for ourselves by brandishing our nuclear arsenal whenever we cannot have our way. Forces in existence before the discovery of North America, as well as forces as fresh as post-World War II nationalism, are at work in the Vietnamese conflict. An American-backed unrepresentative government can temporarily distort the relative strengths of these forces, but until they are allowed to assert themselves and to find their support among a free population, unchecked guerrilla warfare, accompanied by a political instability which cannot be restricted to Vietnam's border, will continue to sap U.S. energies and prestige, to irritate U.S. politics, both domestic and international, to aggravate the racial polarization of the world, and to stoke the flames of World War III.

AUGUST 1964.

At a meeting of 20 national voluntary civic affairs, church, labor, and peace organizations, some of which are not formal participants in the Turn Toward Peace effort, it was agreed and stressed that U.S. citizens do not have, and do not receive, adequate information on the situation in Vietnam and southeast Asia. Turn Toward Peace was asked to help provide and distribute such information. Turn Toward Peace does not itself take substantive positions but offers its channels for the distribution of responsible materials on war/peace issues. It is making this paper available to provide background and to stimulate the discussion necessary to a peaceful solution of the Vietnam crisis.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I support your stand on Vietnam. I feel strongly that the way to settle international disputes and questions is by negotiation and not by military intervention as the United States has done.

I am encouraged that the U.N. is going to invite both North and South Vietnam to air their differences. Perhaps this will lead to a peaceful settlement of the dirty and bitter war where only the people suffer and no one gains except those hungry for power.

The United States would do better to support the South Vietnamese with food and technical advisers in the fields of agriculture and economics rather than with the horrors of napalm bombs.

Sincerely,

CAROL W. RENDE.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*The Senate,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR MR. MORSE: Allow me to express my admiration and gratitude for the courage



nam. This move ostensibly was an effort to prevent the fall of that strife-torn country, and with it a takeover by the Communists of all strategic southeast Asia.

The announced buildup marks a complete change from the rosy talk last October when the White House said its goal was the return of all U.S. forces by the end of 1965. Now there is no more such talk—or talk of being out by any other year in the foreseeable future. Of the original McNamara statement, one administration colleague confessed: "We hope it's forgotten."

#### THE STAKES ARE HIGH

In what must be history's first war fought by on-the-job training, Uncle Sam is much like a poker player getting sandbagged. He has to keep raising his stake or get out of the game.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration has been under heavy fire at home for conducting a "no-win" policy in the Vietnam conflict. In view of this, it would be difficult to withdraw from the southeast Asian trouble spot anytime and impossible in an election year.

The untenable position of the Johnson administration does not settle the matter. There are other questions.

How did we get involved in this southeast Asian jungle country? Is either political party more to blame for our present plight? What do we want? What alternatives are open to us?

#### VIETNAM: WHAT IS IT?

Vietnam? What is it? It is a narrow strip of high hills, swamps and riceland that runs along the South China Sea. Along with Cambodia and Laos, it once formed the area known as French Indochina.

The Japanese took over its administration from the Vichy government during World War II.

In 1946, when the rest of the world was settling into peace, a new conflict flared as the French tried to reassert their control over Indochina.

This led to an 8-year struggle known in Paris as "the dirty war." Finally, in the middle of 1954, after the fall of the jungle fortress of Dienbienphu, agreements were signed in Geneva ending hostilities and partitioning Vietnam at the 17th parallel.

The Geneva accord made Vietnam a divided land, like Germany and Korea. The north was Communist. The French withdrew from the south and it was given complete independence. A plebiscite to determine the status of Vietnam reunification has never been held under the terms of the Geneva agreement.

The Communist who remained in South Vietnam subsequently launched a civil war against the Saigon government led by President Ngo Dinh Diem.

President Diem asked for U.S. help.

President Eisenhower's reply was made public recently by President Johnson, who said it marked the beginning of present U.S. policy in South Vietnam.

In the letter, Eisenhower said he was instructing our ambassador "to assist the Government of Vietnam in developing and maintaining a strong viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means."

The United States sent ships to bring hundreds of thousands of anti-Communists from North Vietnam to new homes in the south. Economic aid was extended. Arms were sent, but no soldiers.

#### THE PACE QUICKENS

In 1957, the United States agreed to finance an eight-division south Vietnam force trained by U.S. military advisers. During the early years in South Vietnam, the U.S. advisers saw little action and there were not many of them. Between 1954 and 1961 our military personnel numbered only 685.

The Communist guerrillas strengthened their attack in 1960 and in the spring of 1961 President Kennedy said the United States was considering increasing its forces there.

President Johnson, then Vice President, was sent to Saigon. He pledged additional U.S. military and economic aid. By the end of 1962 there were 12,000 Americans in South Vietnam.

Two years later, 1964, the number of troops had increased to 16,000 and the rate of military and economic spending increased to about \$1.5 billion a day. The latest decision of Washington will put 5,000 more military men in South Vietnam.

The solution to the Vietnam dilemma is an elusive dream. After 3 years of intensive effort and considerable pain, including the expenditure of \$3.3 billion in aid, after the loss of 264 Americans killed, 1,196 wounded or injured, and 17 missing, the war is still not being discernibly won.

#### CANADA'S RESPONSIBILITY

Communist power has been built up in Vietnam because of the ineffective Canadian team that represents the West on the International Control Commission, a former Royal Canadian Air Force officer has charged.

Squadron Leader Hugh Campbell, who served in Vietnam in 1961 and 1962 as air adviser to the Canadian mission, said that "by 1962 the Canadians in North Vietnam were virtually prisoners under armed guard."

Canada is on the Control Commission with India and Poland to see that South Vietnam and Communist North Vietnam adhere to the Geneva agreement of 1954, which forbids the creation of aggressive force.

Canadians on the Control Commission, the RCAF officer said, have accepted such "ridiculous charades" as one 15-minute inspection a week of trains entering Vietnam from Red China—"the Canadians being free to inspect only empty boxcars." The Canadians, he added, were denied access to docks and airfields.

"When we should have been battling for every vantage point and screaming to high heaven whenever the Communists violated the agreement \* \* \* we protested politely, ineffectually, and thrust our head back into the sand.

"We made no serious attempt to win. On the contrary, so casual was our concern, we didn't bother to field our best team. We sent in a scrub team \* \* \* and our efforts became an international joke. We should have taken some action. Any action. Even petulant screams would have indicated that at least we cared \* \* \* a large share of responsibility for today's unholy mess in Vietnam is ours," the Canadian officer declared.

#### THE UNANSWERED QUESTION

Prior to this week's incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin, Senator GOLDWATER's statements and President Johnson's policies highlighted two different paths. The pertinent issue remains. What should be done in South Vietnam?

Gen. William C. Westmoreland, commander of U.S. troops in South Vietnam said: "The battle can never be won unless the hearts and minds of the people can be won."

How right he is. We must possess the determination to win and the hearts and minds of the South Vietnamese must be aimed with ours toward a common goal—victory.

[From the Savannah Evening Press, Aug. 7, 1964]

#### CONGRESS, VIETNAM, AND U.S. LAW

In his address to the Nation on the Vietnam situation late Tuesday night, President Johnson said: "I have met today with the leaders of both parties in the Congress of the United States and I have informed them that I shall immediately request the Con-

gress to pass a resolution making it clear that our Government is united in its determination to take all necessary measures in support of freedom and in defense of peace, in southeast Asia."

The resolution which the President sought is now before the Congress and shows signs of being passed with "overwhelming support." The full text of the resolution "to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia" follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked U.S. naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace;

"Whereas these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom;

"Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these peoples should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"The Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

"SEC. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the southeast Asia collective defense treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the southeast Asia collective defense treaty requesting assistance in defense of their freedom.

"SEC. 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress."

In the minds of some people, the pace of today's world has outmoded some of the functions of the Congress as defined in the Constitution. Article I, section 8, clause 11, of the Constitution states that the Congress shall have power "to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water." Historically, declarations of war, like the taxing power, are too important and dangerous to be given to any one man; therefore, the people declare war through their representatives in Congress.

The word "war" is not mentioned in the text of the resolution now before the Congress. Its length is far greater than the one paragraph declarations of Congress in past conflicts.

In a practical sense, this document confers upon the President the power to wage "war" as he sees fit. The semantics may be different, but the smell of gun powder is the same.



We believe that the Congress is abdicating another of its constitutional duties and responsibilities when it "approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

We hope that this doesn't presage the opening of a Pandora's box of Presidential Executive orders under the guise of a national emergency which would make controls enforced on the civilian populace during World War II look like child's play.

Affirmative action must be taken to meet any threat of our national security. But this action should be consonant with our democratic heritage and in keeping with the fundamental law of these United States—the Constitution.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

DEAR BROTHER MORSE: In the name of God, our Creator and Heavenly Father, I greet you in this period of great crisis to congratulate you for daring to be a Daniel—to stand alone and proclaim the power of God (love).

"My people perish for lack of knowledge of the nature of God" is as true today as it was when the prophets thus foretold the downfall of Israel.

God is love. God is omnipotent. Love is the greatest force in the universe. And we are out of rhythm with the universe and out of harmony with God (love) as long as we make and trust in devastating weapons. They are as useless in providing security as were the gods for whom we have named some—Thor, Jupiter, Nike-Zeus, etc. God, the Ruler of the Universe, is Commander in Chief, King of kings, and He has commanded us to love and feed our enemies, not send a *Mad(d) ox* out on His seas. It is comparable to an ignorant farmer turning a mad ox loose on a playground to terrify his neighbors. The natural thing for anyone to do was to try to get it away.

We go on doing the same old thing in the same old way not realizing that we are on threshold of a new era. The nuclear age must become the new clear age when we, who are God's handiwork, created in Christ Jesus to devote ourselves to good deeds for which God has designed us (Ephesians 2: 10) will let our light shine (Matthew 5: 14-16). It is thus, with good deeds, that we will be "optical masers" and nudge our old world into the new orbit of which the prophets foretold when mercy and justice shall cover the earth.

For on-the-spot inspection, see Proverbs 15: 3; II Chronicles xvi: 9; Psalm 33: 18, etc. Humably and sincerely,

"GRANDMA HOFF,"

MILLERSVILLE, PA.

TOWSON, Md.,  
August 6, 1964.

U.S. Senator MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You are so right. What a courageous, good, loyal public official you are. Our Federal Government is always trying to get our children murdered in war-mongering to suit the war profiteers and militarists no matter who gets into office. I have read as much as anyone can of all this. The Vietcong are the sons of the peasant citizens of South Vietnam who want the Communist setup as it is in North Vietnam, just as South Koreans want joined to North Korea, but the United States forces an artificial government on them and constant war-mongering because our evil, militaristic officials want constant war in some faroff place against small areas of backward peasants who have to take it. Haiti has one of the worst dictatorships on earth and so does

Spain. Yet in New York State a man was locked up for treason against the United States, of all the silly, fool things, for being in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade that tried to help the Republic of Spain, the established government, against the traitors under Franco. I specialized in history to teach it in high school, and one thing stuck out like a sore thumb. Official Washington policy is always on the wrong side. We have as bad government in our local, county, and State areas as any country could have, so this country has no room to talk. Also, the governments the United States calls "allies" and "friends" are as rotten, if not worse, than the ones our politicians call "enemies" which they would not be enemies if the United States behaved itself and minded its business. China has as much right to bomb our coasts to protect North Vietnam as we have to be over there carrying on. Also, the draft is unconstitutional. It deprives children—boys—of their civil rights to stay in their own country under civil law and civil government. If grown men past 35 want to volunteer to murder helpless peasant boys called Vietcong over in other people's land 10,000 miles away, they deserve what they get, but the whole United States deserves punishment for forcing our children into it. This whole mess is cooked up the way Roosevelt cooked up Pearl Harbor and only a few Republican Senators in New England saw through it, although later the Saturday Evening Post printed Harry Hopkins' letters admitting the plot. Harry Truman pulled the same stunt about South Korea. And all that slop against communism. In the first place, the United States is as Communist as any other country. In the second place, it is none of the United States business what form of government other parts of the world prefer. Also, if we have the gall to murder and destroy helpless peasants and their property 10,000 miles, or 90 miles, or whatever away, other countries have the same right to bomb us so that our Government should be changed to suit other countries and give our citizens their rights. For years and years, our country did everything it could to stir up a war with Russia—insults, U-2 spy planes, "weather balloons"—Eisenhower boldly claiming the United States had a "right" to go over anywhere it pleased. Yet you can imagine what would happen if Russia sent spy planes and weather balloons over here, and they were landed, or if the Russians insulted our politicians like that. But they really are peaceable or we would not even be in existence, as you can bet your life if we had succeeded in cooking up a war for ourselves our so-called allies would not naturally have come to our aid, for they have sense enough to think of themselves all the time and only Americans are silly. One big trouble is the world bankers want us to owe billions of dollars so as to be paying interest forever while they live in luxury off the proceeds of the wealth they got by grabbing up more than their share of the natural resources which God Himself created for all of His children equally. Since men are supposed to earn their own bread by the sweat of their brow, and the Bible says call no man father, but only your Father in Heaven, obviously God intended to provide the support for all the world's children that He is Father of. Since we are His stewards, obviously the natural resources—the wealth He created—are to be held by all the people of the world in a government as His stewards, and the resources sold at retail or rented and the proceeds used for food, clothes, education, and health of all children from conception to maturity. That means a direct world government with the job of providing schools and health care for all the children from conception to adolescence; a few large

national governments to provide boarding schools for adolescents, and our regular governments for adults. It would be easy to provide three meals a day in the school cafeterias free and free uniforms. One world language. It is already English. Working on this could help keep the energetic Americans out of so much troublemaking, as it would be constructive. Somebody ought to have vision enough to start the ball rolling.  
McHENRY.

#### ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, AUGUST 31

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I move, pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 359, that the Senate stand in adjournment until noon, Monday, August 31, 1964.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 7 o'clock and 27 minutes p.m.) the Senate, pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 359, adjourned until 12 o'clock noon Monday, August 31, 1964.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 21, 1964:

##### U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY

Prof. John Robert Jannarone, O21053, U.S. Military Academy, for appointment as dean of the Academic Board of the U.S. Military Academy under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 4335.

##### POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

##### CALIFORNIA

Henry H. Neidenbach, Danville, Calif., in place of R. M. Podva, retired.

##### DELAWARE

Clarence A. Schwatka, Jr., Townsend, Del., in place of E. M. Conner, retired.

##### GEORGIA

Evelyn P. Gregory, Clinchfield, Ga., in place of E. P. Peed, retired.

##### MASSACHUSETTS

John B. Howarth, Worcester, Mass., in place of S. E. Johnson, removed.

##### MICHIGAN

William L. Donner, Garden City, Mich., in place of G. O. Donner, retired.

##### MISSOURI

Jeff H. Shifflett, Fayette, Mo., in place of W. L. Talbot, retired.

##### NEW HAMPSHIRE

Roger E. Brassard, Manchester, N.H., in place of W. J. Richard, retired.

##### NEW YORK

Wesley W. Mackmer, Collins Center, N.Y., in place of L. C. Heim, retired.

##### OHIO

Ray L. Chadwell, Amesville, Ohio, in place of R. C. Bennett, transferred.

##### OREGON

Leao M. Johnson, Lyons, Oreg., in place of R. I. Lyons, retired.

##### SOUTH CAROLINA

John D. Nettles, Cordova, S.C., in place of C. C. Kennerly, Jr., transferred.

##### TEXAS

Edgar A. Bradford, Menard, Tex., in place of Hugh Spinks, retired.

##### BOARD OF PAROLE

Ziegel W. Neff, of Missouri, to be a member of the Board of Parole for the term expiring September 30, 1970.



It is difficult, if not impossible, to explain to anyone how the greatest power in the world today must repeatedly prove its military might in clashes with tiny, backward people struggling to achieve the barest standard of subsistence. It seems to me quite impossible to explain and justify what in heaven's name we are doing in southeast Asia in the first instance.

RICHARD LYNDEN.

Copy to Senator WAYNE MORSE.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a word in praise of your negative vote.

Sincerely,

Mrs. GLADYS SKIDELL.

THE METHODIST OFFICE FOR  
THE UNITED NATIONS,  
New York, N.Y., August 7, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: The recent developments in the Bay of Tonkin have caused many of us to think more seriously about our policy in South Vietnam. From an official point of view I should like to draw your attention to a resolution which was passed by our board of Christian social concerns early in this year. You will note that at that time it called for internationalizing the situation in southeast Asia rather than attempting to defend South Vietnam by our own military or economic efforts.

I must say that from a personal point of view I have had a good deal of sympathy with the critical attitude of Senator MORSE. The following questions come to my mind and attention:

1. Is it possible for the United States to establish a permanently stable government in South Vietnam when there is so much internal division and weakness and when this country is so far from our shores and so near another great power?

2. Was it desirable or necessary for the United States to wait until there was violence in the Bay of Tonkin before it brought the issue to the United Nations? From a technical point of view would it not have been better to have withheld fire and to have brought the matter to the Security Council rather than to have taken action and then to have announced to the Security Council what we did?

3. Were there any actions on our part preceding the *Maddox* incident which constituted aggression on our part or had the appearance of aggression by either South Vietnam or ourselves?

4. Would it not be wise to internationalize the situation in southeast Asia either by using the offices of the United Nations or by participating in a meeting of all concerned nations? By all concerned nations we not only mean North and South Vietnam but also such countries as Laos, Burma, Malaysia, the Philippines, and especially the People's Republic of China. Personally we believe that either peace in Asia or calm in the world will not be achieved until we are dealing with the People's Republic of China within the framework of the United Nations.

Sincerely yours,

CARL SOULE.

P.S.—Many thanks, Senator MORSE, for your valiant and lonely struggle for a nonmilitary solution to the problems of southeast Asia.

Identical letters to Senators JACOB K. JAVITS, KENNETH B. KEATING.

#### VIETNAM

(Resolution adopted by the Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church at its annual meeting in Tampa, Fla., February 16-21, 1964)

The deteriorating situation in Vietnam with increasing loss of life, and the seeming

failure of present U.S. policy, is arousing widespread concern. These events lead us to express the conviction that in the future a wise and enlightened policy will be based upon—

1. The awareness that military power has limited value and stable government depends upon satisfactory economic conditions, a concerned citizenry, and leadership of competence and integrity in government.

2. The recognition that in areas where there are tense ideological confrontations the U.N. has unusual advantages of universality and prestige which can contribute to reasonably just and peaceful solutions.

We urge that the United States ask the U.N. to take responsibility for the settlement of the conflict in Vietnam and that the United States declare its readiness to withdraw its troops and military support upon the assumption of this responsibility by the U.N.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

President L. B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: Recently just before the GOP convention in San Francisco we heard Senator JAVITS say that if the Republicans nominated an extremely conservative candidate like GOLDWATER, then the Democrats would also be moved in a direction toward extreme conservatism. This was clearly demonstrated in Vietnam events this week.

It is possible that if it were not for extreme right reaction, as symbolized by GOLDWATER's nomination, that the administration would have taken a more civilized attitude during this week's crisis. Since the PT boats had attacked naval armed forces only which suffered no casualties or damages, and which in turn completely routed the few PT boats which allegedly came from North Vietnam, then we think the action of attacking a nation and endangering the civilian population was an action of extreme barbarism. What is to keep the very people we are trying to win over to our way of thinking from regarding this Nation as one more foreign bully taking advantage of its power?

A more civilized action would have been to take our complaint of the PT boat attack to the U.N., with a warning to all parties concerned that any further attack on U.S. forces would bring swift retaliatory action on North Vietnam bases. We particularly refer to alleged North Vietnam boats because news dispatches from South Vietnam have indicated that the South Vietnam Government is very anxious to trap the U.S. Government into expanding the war in that area.

Let us not play into GOLDWATER's hands, but rather it is high time as Senators FULBRIGHT, MORSE, GRUENING, and Representative WILLIAM RYAN have so ably pointed out, for an agonizing reappraisal of our foreign policy, in this as well as other areas—a policy which deals with basic problems and preventive measures rather than last-minute expedients which can only lead from one crisis to another.

Very respectfully,

Mrs. ROSE DELLA-MONICA.  
ANTHONY DELLA-MONICA.

Copies to Senators FULBRIGHT, MORSE, GRUENING, JAVITS, KUCHEL, SALINGER, Representative WILLIAM RYAN.

P.S.—Please keep up the good fight, and many thanks for your constructive, intelligent leadership.

R.D.M.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator ERNEST GRUENING,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I salute you both for your very courageous stand August 7 against President

Johnson's Vietnam resolution. Please send me two copies each of your speeches. I secured and read your previous speeches regarding our illegal and brutal Vietnam war.

The House voted 416 to 0, the Senate 88 to 2, which means you 2 stood alone against 504 Congressmen. I am sure history will record your marvelous courage when the 504 "me-too-ers" will be forgotten. There can be no doubt that among the 504 are many who think exactly as you 2 do, but are too yellow and dishonest to vote their convictions. What a gutless Congress we have.

Said Senator GRUENING: "All Vietnam is not worth the life of a single American boy." I agree wholeheartedly. It is very disheartening to know there are so many cheap Congressmen willing to trade American lives for votes.

To me, the current Vietnam "crisis" and, last week's OAS farce are both manufactured election deals.

Very truly yours,

JOS. E. BIALLAS.

Copies to: President L. B. JOHNSON, Secretary Dean Rusk, Adlai Stevenson, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, CIA Director John McCone, Senator Thomas Kuchel, Senator Hubert Humphrey, and Representative Jeffrey Cohelan.

BRONX, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Vis-a-vis the southeast Asian crisis, permit me to express my gratitude and appreciation to you \* \* \* it takes but one person of courage and self-respect to cast the light of shame and reproach on those others who are cowards, even to fear of feeling ashamed themselves for the miserable, rubber-stamping ways in which they act.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY GRANT.

SANTIAGO, CHILE.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We heard on the noon news today that some kind of resolution backing President Johnson's actions in North Vietnam passed two committees of the Senate, with only one dissenting vote in each case, yours.

Thank you. Your vote is one of the few aspects of U.S. behavior—international as well as internal—in which we find something admirable.

I must agree with President Johnson, "aggression unopposed is aggression unleashed" or words to this effect in his speech of yesterday, and it seems to me that no other nation is at the present time engaged in anywhere near as much aggression as is the United States. It is therefore very heartening to hear once in a while of some slight opposition, a speech by you or FULBRIGHT or GRUENING.

Best wishes,

JOHN MARICA.  
CAROL MARICA.

P.S.—We are California residents, but are not wasting any more postage on Congressman Moss, etc.

P.P.S.—It is particularly disgusting to be abroad when Johnson and Rusk make fantastic statements about the constitutionality of military takeovers in Brazil and similar affairs.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a note to let you know of my continued approval of your



courageous stand in opposition to the U.S. Government's war policy in southeast Asia. I hope you do not get discouraged at the more serious turn of events have recently taken and that you continue your valuable work of speaking for a powerfully felt view shared by many of your fellow citizens.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. CATHERINE R. HARRIS.

CLIFTON, N.J.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Although I have not seen or heard your entire statement concerning the recent action taken by our forces in Vietnam, I must say that I agree with the tenor of your remarks.

I doubt very much if our Government has told the American people the entire story of the events leading up to the incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin.

Your remarks concerning the activities of our destroyers in the gulf appear to be at odds with the "official" story and I doubt if the American people will know the true situation for many years to come (if at all).

Basically, the purpose of this letter is to let you know that there are other Americans who feel as you do about the Southeast situation.

Our country has appeared to get involved in situations where "morality" is thrown out the window (assuming it was ever considered) but where we cry out in righteous indignation when we are attacked. Of course I feel that we must protect ourselves when necessary but I also think our recent response was somewhat extreme notwithstanding the defense of liberty.

When the great majority of the country becomes elated over military action against a weak adversary then something is indeed wrong with the body politic and moral fiber of this country.

I hope you continue to keep up your struggle for your admittedly unpopular views on Vietnam in particular and the world in general. When there is only one voice in the entire Senate and who even questions the action taken when things look bleak indeed. Wishing you continued success in your future battles to bring light and perspective to our foreign relations, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT S. MOLNAR.

SAVANNAH, GA.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Enclosed you will find three editorials dealing with the Vietnam situation.

I thought that you would be interested in their contents. Perhaps, after reading them, you'll honor me by having them inserted in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Thanks for past favors and kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

RAY MARTIN,  
Chief Editorial Writer,  
Savannah Evening Press.

[From the Savannah Evening Press, Aug. 5, 1964]

#### Vietnam—The Crisis Deepens

At an unprecedented hour last night, President Johnson took to radio and television to issue a rally-round-the-flag call to the American people. Such rallying cries in the past have been predicated upon reasonably clear events. The current crisis is shrouded with a disturbing cloudiness.

In an hour of grave national peril partisan politics should be shunted aside and the enemy confronted by a unified America. The actions of the leaders of the country's

two major political parties suggest that we are at a point of national peril.

A mantle of urgency, cloaked in wartime secrecy, was evident in Washington following disclosure that two U.S. Navy destroyers were the targets of attack in the Gulf of Tonkin. It was the second such attack in international waters since Sunday.

The President responded to the latest development by declaring that "air action is now in execution against gunboats and certain supporting facilities of North Vietnam which have been used in the hostile operations."

Mr. Johnson asked Congress to adopt a resolution making it clear that our Government is united in its determination to take all necessary measures in support of freedom, and in defense of peace, in southeast Asia.

Further, he instructed U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson to arrange for an emergency session of the United Nations Security Council. That meeting is being held today. Little affirmative action can be expected there because of the Russian veto power.

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which lacks any military prowess, is meeting in Bangkok in the wake of the Johnson pronouncement.

Despite the tension prevalent in Washington which kept top Pentagon officials at their offices throughout the night, the President did not alter his plans to travel to Syracuse, N.Y., today to dedicate a communications center at the university there.

#### THE INCIDENTS

The Gulf of Tonkin episodes present several unique questions. "Jane's Fighting Ships," the international authority on men-of-war, shows that the entire navy of North Vietnam consists of 16 so-called PT boats. The craft are Russian-built and have been in the hands of the Vietcong since 1952. Why would such a minuscule naval force seek to engage the goliath U.S. Navy's 7th Fleet? Reports from Saigon would indicate that a fifth of the Vietcong naval force has already been taken out of action as the result of the encounters since Sunday.

Reports of the two incidents emphasize that the two destroyers were not damaged in the attacks, nor were any American casualties incurred. At the same time, however, the same clarity is missing in statements relative to the attacking PT boats. There is just a supposition that they were sunk. Surely, the art of naval intelligence is sufficiently advanced to make this determination.

It has been said that the two attacks in the Gulf of Tonkin caught us by surprise. How can this be? Just last week we were able to get some pretty good pictures of the moon and in the past we've learned some of Cuba's innermost secrets from the air. Was there a breakdown in our intelligence operations? The American people should be told the harsh truth of the matter.

Word of the retaliatory action was kept from the American people for more than 2 hours last night, while our key allies around the world were briefed. When the President's orders became public knowledge, silence was the order of the day for our global friends. Tokyo was the only national capital to speak out in our favor. Are we to bear this new burden alone?

#### SERIOUS QUESTIONS

While the American people chewed their fingernails last night, wondering just what the White House response was going to be, our international propaganda spokesman, the Voice of America, was concerned with other matters. News reports on VOA mentioned the latest attack in scant detail. Heavy emphasis, however, was placed on activities related to the so-called civil rights struggle.

Radio Prague was proclaiming that the U.S. activity was part and parcel of plan 6, a tactical activity agreed upon at the recent southeast Asia Conference held in the Philippines.

The Czech radio voice said that authorities were in a real dither over how much of the plan could safely be revealed to the American people. We tend to dismiss claims of Communist-oriented radio voices out of hand, but past events have taught us to subject them to a degree of scrutiny—they sometimes contain an element of truth. Truth which the American people often learn too late.

One New York City radio station last night suggested that the United States was being made the "fall guy" in the current hassle between Red China and Soviet Russia. This can't be dismissed too lightly, since the Gulf of Tonkin activity comes on the first anniversary of the limited nuclear test ban treaty negotiated between the U.S.S.R. and the United States. It would indeed be tragic if we let ourselves become a patsy for this one.

Other observers question whether this action fits a preordained pattern of our own Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA, it is said, is pushing for our recognition of Red China so that it can get its operatives there with a minimum of fuss and bother. It may be that we'll soon hear that our intelligence bogged down because we didn't have any spies inside Red China—and hence the CIA's argument would be this action shows the importance of such recognition. Presumably, our attacks are concentrated against North Vietnam, not Red China. This is one to watch.

#### M'NAMARA'S REPORT

First reports of the retaliatory action taken by U.S. aircraft issued by Secretary of Defense McNamara are cause for concern. He said that we flew 64 sorties and that we destroyed 25 PT boats. We lost two of our planes and their pilots in the action, the Pentagon Chief said at 7:45 a.m. today.

As we said earlier in this space, "Jane's Fighting Ships" lists 16 PT boats in the North Vietnam Navy. This, too, was the figure used in earlier Pentagon statements.

How do we now destroy more boats than existed in the first place? That's a baffling question at best.

As the hours wear on, more and more clouds appear over this crisis.

We should leave no stone unturned when our national safety or the safety of the free world is imperiled. But the American people are a mature lot and can be trusted with the truth. They should be told the full truth by official Washington—no matter how distasteful that truth may be in the mouth of the one who utters it.

We would hate for our response to North Vietnam to go down in the history books as one being too late, too little, and too close to election day.

[From the Savannah Evening Press, Aug. 6, 1964]

#### HISTORY OF THE VIETNAM MILLSTONE

Last week Washington officials would not predict that extension of the war in Vietnam could be avoided before the November election, although they expressed hope that with the announced buildup in the south it could be avoided. Said one official: "Whether we can get through the election (without escalation) is almost up to Hanoi. If it turns out that they are infiltrating very large numbers into South Vietnam, we would have to rethink."

Events of the past few days have undoubtedly caused a lot of planners at the Pentagon and State Department to "rethink" the strategy of the United States in southeast Asia. What their new answers will be, only time will tell.

Prior to the shooting incidents involving the destroyers *Maddox* and *C. Turner Joy*, which placed this country in a posture one step from a declaration of war by the Congress, it was revealed that some 5,000 additional U.S. "advisers" would join the Nation's 16,000-man military mission in South Viet-



LOS ANGELES,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Congratulations on your public expression of integrity re the southeast Asia boondoggle. Unfortunately for America there aren't enough of your kind.

Sincerely,

E. THEOBOLD.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I urge that, if this is not revealed as a strategy toward peace—this confrontation in Vietnamese waters—that you again come to the fore—and demand a full and complete airing of the true situation in Vietnam. We dare not risk war and the escalation of it—or we shall be haunted by the old plaint: "The Democrats get us into war." And it will be believed—and will be spread by the very ones who now urge such war—the far right Republicans, whose Mr. Dulles got us into this mess.

This is not our war—not the Democrats' war—but Ike's and—more accurately, Dulles'. Let us mark time and tread water until after November—and then negotiate ourselves out of a lot of foolish commitments that will destroy and defeat and humiliate us—in Asia, the Congo, Cuba.

Truly,

GLADYS MARTIN.

LAMONI, IOWA.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your very courageous stand against the excessive response of the administration to the two attacks in the Tonkin Gulf.

Please continue your fine series of speeches in Congress resisting our involvement in Vietnam.

(No reply expected.)

Yours,

ARMIN T. WRIGHT.

WHITTIER, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: I am ashamed of my country this morning. We look like a big bully before the world. Why couldn't the President have presented the problem this morning to the United Nations instead of bombing a helpless little country, and then giving the headache to the U.N.?

I wish you would run for the Presidency to give the peaceable people a candidate to vote for. What can we do to stem the tide toward a disastrous war?

Sincerely yours,

ED. H. RUNCORN.

PULLMAN, WASH.

DEAR SIR: Please accept my grateful thanks for your opposition to U.S. policy in southeast Asia and the recent crisis.

If even a few of your colleagues in the Senate showed the same courage and understanding, this country would not be as near to war as it is, and the right of the American people to know the facts about our foreign policy would be better protected.

Again, my sincere thanks and congratulations.

J. L. TOBEY,  
Department of History, Washington  
State University.

WEST SACRAMENTO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is wonderful to hear some sanity over Vietnam. Is there any possibility that the International Control Commission will be called upon by the U.N. to help set the record straight?

Mrs. MARGARET PLOSSER.

OLD FORGE, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

HONORABLE SENATOR: Congratulations on your courage in speaking out on the disastrous course our Government is following in southeast Asia. The action of President Johnson is typical of a Goldwater policy—not that of a man of peace. It is a sign of weakness—not strength.

LEON FORER.

DOESN'T WANT TO FIGHT

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

Writing this letter is very painful to me because I am torn between my love of country and my love for truth and justice, plus my strong desire to see my fine young son and all our young people live out their lives in a normal manner.

If die they must, so young, let it at least be in defense of our country.

In far off South Vietnam our boys are killing Vietnamese and Vietnamese are killing our boys.

Why are we in this undeclared war against a tiny country whose people never hurt us and who can't possibly be a threat to us even if they have a Communist government. North Vietnam has been Communist for years and has not bothered us.

We forced a series of bloody dictators on these desperate people. The result is that these people are fighting a war against the puppet government we forced on them, as well as against our soldiers we send in to help these creatures stay in power.

This action on our part seems to me to be insane. But those the gods would destroy they first make mad.

We are told this war is to save the Vietnamese from communism. If that is so, these people it seems to me, don't want to be saved because they are fighting against those who want to save them.

If the Vietnamese don't want communism let them fight against it. I don't want my son or even one American boy dying for the Vietnamese.

Mrs. T. KAHN.

P.S.—Please keep on fighting for United States.

MORONGO VALLEY, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you again for your correct, principled, and courageous attack on the war policies of the Johnson administration. I suspect that attacks on U.S. ships (if any were made) stemmed from Chiang Kai Shek or our puppet in South Vietnam. I enormously admire your wisdom and daring. You alone speak for my wife and me on these terrible issues. Keep up the good fight.

WARWICK M. TOMPKINS.

TIOGA, PA.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORED SENATOR: Congratulations on your valiant stand against the southeast Asia war. With deep admiration,

DOROTHY BALDWIN BECKER,  
Registered Democratic Voter.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Bravo—you have the courage, integrity and love for justice, that is an inspiration to so many of us.

Surely Senator NEUBERGER, who is liberal and generally on the side of peace and genuine democracy, will stand with you—we hope.

Though you are not a Senator from my State, yet you represent me and all my friends and we thank you, with every breath.

Strange indeed, that we can go into Vietnam, 8,000 miles away, into another country and interfere with them, yet can't send the proper protection into Mississippi, to protect our own people in their constitutional rights. Nor ever bring to justice, those cowardly sub-humans, who resort to torture and murder, in the vain hope of maintaining the horrors of race superiority.

History will record you as one of the great and fearless lawmakers.  
Again, thank you.

BARBARA BESS NESTOR.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations, Sir, and thank you for opposing the Johnson administration plans for war in Vietnam and southeast Asia. Please continue working for peace.

PAUL GOLDBERG.

MIAMI, FLA.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am so very grateful to you for stating a truthful and wise policy for us to follow on Vietnam. It takes tremendous courage to stand up and be counted at a time like this.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. MARY E. PETERSEN.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You have our strongest support of your statement on television concerning southeast Asia situation.

We feel you have the people behind you despite the statements of President Johnson and other leaders.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. PAUL KERBER.

DEARBORN HEIGHTS, MICH.

LA GRANGE, ILL.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Cheers on your stand in regard to Vietnam and on your courage in making it. We are so self-righteous and arrogant in assuming we have a right to control that part of the world. We are on very shaky moral ground in both North and South Vietnam and are doing things for expediency that are counter to our supposed principles. This needs to be brought out into the open as you are doing. You must get pretty discouraged sometimes but keep it up. Some do hear and your colleagues who won't listen still read it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mrs. R. A. CLARK.

DULUTH, MINN.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SIR: I deeply appreciate your comments and your voting stand on the Vietnam issue. Wish my Senators had done the same.

V. J. STEPHEN.

TUCKAHOE, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Yesterday I took part in a peace vigil and a peace walk through New York City. The response of the pedestrians and motorists was either quiet or friendly. This means the Johnson-Goldwater war in Vietnam has little popular support. Two men carried signs saying "MORSE for President"—not a bad idea.

With best wishes for success in your efforts to end the war.

Sincerely yours,

L. PACH.

TACOMA, WASH.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I wish to congratulate you on your courageous stand regarding the Vietnam affair. Keep up the good work; and



August 21

we hope more will be courageous and speak out. Many of us see the great danger of the widening control of the military in our country which we've always thought of as under civilian control. And if we are informed we know what we are doing. We believe that if we are to survive we'll have to change our policy.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MARK ANDERSON.

WESTERLY, R.I.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your stand on the North Vietnam crisis—a genuine profile in courage. May God bless you and give you many more years of service.

Yours very truly,

JOHN F. CLIFFORD.

SEAL BEACH, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In a time like this when you are subject to much abuse for your courageous stand on the southeast Asia crisis I would like to express my sincere approval of your position. You are one of the few men in Government who have the intellectual grasp and humanitarian values which have changed with our changing world.

Sincerely,

JACOB MARKHAM.

UPPER DARBY, PA.,  
August 9, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,

DEAR SIR: Am glad that you have courage to take an independent stand on the war in Vietnam, which, unless the United Nations or some conference can calm it down, may lead into one of those full-scale wars where everybody loses.

Truly yours,

CONSTANCE HYSLOP.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

DEAR SIR: I want to thank you for your fine stand on this frightful state we find ourselves in. The positions that are being taken, that we are in no way to blame is shocking.

Mrs. LUCRETIA R. BREY.

COLLEGE PLACE, WASH.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I wish to thank you for your courageous opposition to our becoming involved in war in southeast Asia. We wholeheartedly applaud Senator GRUENING's statements. South Vietnam is not worth the life of a single American soldier. I wired the President some time ago, against another Korea.

Yours,

HERBERT and ELIZ. FLOWER.

P.S.—If there is anything we can do to help, let us know.

H.P.F.  
E.M.E.HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

SIR: You are the only sane voice in Washington. Keep it up; sooner or later history will prove you right. As I have written President Johnson, it's a ridiculous way to keep the peace.

M. D. CRUTHER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have written my Congressman, Senators and President Johnson expressing my endorsement of your views on U.S. southeast Asia policy. I believe that the silence of others in Congress in criticism of this dangerous policy is a disservice to the country and a miscalculation

of their self-interest. I believe that there is less popular support for this policy than the administration claims.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL P. ROSENBERG.

MANHATTAN BEACH, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I salute your courage, your astuteness in analyzing, your brilliance in reaching conclusions. All that remains to be mentioned is the ability to express yourself clearly and concisely.

Many, many thanks.

ELEANOR STOUT.

SHEBOYGAN, WIS.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: We thank you for your vote on the Vietnam situation.

The little, endless wars the Pentagon must have to justify its being here are not in accord with our religion or our patriotism. When we hold in our hands the power to blow up the world, then we must really be careful.

Doing what is right, we know, does not need human praise, but still we want you to know we are with you.

The BREHMERS.

RENSSELAERVILLE, N.Y.,  
August 17, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I applaud your action today in voting against the resolution essentially approving of U.S. aggressive action against North Vietnam.

Yours very truly,

L. A. ELDRIDGE, Jr., M.D.

P.S.—Posterity will be proud of Senator GRUENING and you.

L.A.E.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your speech regarding Vietnam. We support your position and hope this crisis will soon be resolved.

Yours truly,

Mr. and Mrs. H. KAPLAN.

VAN NUYS, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Good for you. Whenever the Democrats get into a political bind, with a possibility of losing an election, they create a crisis, alas J.F.K.'s sudden awareness of Russian military buildup in Cuba. Months after every other American had read about it from Senate reports, nothing could convince me that Johnson's administration did not arrange present crisis for political buildup, just as ARA is being used to create false impression. With Salinger's illegal appointment (and he stinks) and the other unethical, immoral acts, what is going to happen to our country?

MURIEL TRYON.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The telegram I sent Mr. Johnson last night, August 4, reflected the teachings of one of the few, so very few, ethical instructors of the U.S. Senate. Your solitary dissenting vote against giving Mr. Johnson " \* \* \* a predated declaration of

war (in Asia) \* \* \* " gives courage to one so outraged by U.S. imperialism and military braggadocio in southeast Asia (and elsewhere).  
Bravo.

Bravo.

PAOLO MUCCI.

FAIR LAWN, N.J.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Good for you. That was a brave vote against warmaking power for President Johnson. I hope you keep on fighting against the dirty business in southeast Asia. Honest history will vindicate you.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN ACKERSON.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have just heard over the radio that you and Senator GRUENING voted against the resolution giving the President power to start a war in Asia against Vietnam.

I want to thank you for your courageous stand. I wish my Senators were thinking as you do.

Respectfully,

JENNY HIRSCHFELD.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My admiration for your brave stand on the Vietnam situation. And—how can we thank you for the many years of courageous representation you have given us?

I am,

FLORENCE HOLUB.

BOSTON, MASS.,  
August 1964.

SIR: Please be advised that CBS was the only network that aired your views on the Vietnam resolution, which should prove that reason has little or no place in American politics much less the mass media dedicated to the ignorance of 190 million suggestible slobs.

Now what happens when the U.N. requests the United States of America to vacate southeast Asia?

ROBERT ESTEY.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Let me commend you for your courageous vote of "No" to the Vietnam resolution. It seems that you alone in the Senate are capable of looking rationally at our activities in southeast Asia.

Sincerely,

GILBERT S. WALTER.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I commend you for your courageous stand on the Vietnam situation.

The world today is too complex to insist on total victory over communism. Let us negotiate or get out.

Sincerely,

L. J. RICE.

HOBOKEN, N.J.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I am the young(?) fellow who spoke to you at the dedication of the Jefferson National Bank in Miami Beach. If you recollect, we spoke about CLIFF CASE, etc.

Senator, I am proud of your stand on South Vietnam.

You represent the majority of thinking in this country.

You may not win, but you are truly a patriot.

DAVE COYNE.

1964

MANHASSETT, N.Y.,  
August 9, 1964.

Heartily approve your vote against war.  
Thank you.

ROBERT HOPPOCK.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is refreshing to hear one's views propounded by at least one of those supposedly representing the public in Washington. Please continue your strong stand against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. I shall urge my representatives to join you.

ERIC PARTLOW.

ROCK ISLAND, R.I.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SIR: I wish to congratulate you on your stand and will write in your name for President next November. War has become a built-in part of our economy. If we had peace tomorrow, we'd have 20 million unemployed the day after. That's our only excuse for being in Vietnam.

HOWARD E. MARSTON.

DENTON UNIVERSITY,  
GRANVILLE, OHIO.

DEAR MISS ROCK: Would you please let Senator MORSE know of the support of myself and of the members of our seminar for his statement of August 5 on Vietnam. His vigorous and courageous action is welcome and necessary. Will he lead a so-called "liberal filibuster" against the resolution? While one recognizes the desirability of full support for Presidential action, nevertheless, we have no business violating the standards we expect others to observe.

Dr. LOUIS BRAKEMAN,  
Assistant Professor of Government.BOSTON, MASS.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Independent,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have addressed you as Independent, although fully aware of your party designation, because I wish to pay my respects to your independence of mind and spirit. It would seem that you alone have the courage to speak out when the other Members of the Congress are hysterical in their chauvinism.

You are not alone in your view that our Government has been provocative in its actions in southeast Asia. Anyone who had observed the trial balloons that have been floated both in Washington and in Saigon during the past weeks should have concluded long before the shooting began that we were preparing to send men and machines openly into Vietnam, and the disclaimer of aggression on our part is disingenuous, to say the least. What was the mission of our warships in the Gulf of Tonkin and were they supporting actively or in a standby position the attack by South Vietnamese torpedo boats on North Vietnam?

Without minimizing the blame to be assessed against North Vietnam and the Republic of China, you alone have spoken directly to the American people about the adventurism and jingoism of a policy leading to the brink of war, a policy that cannot succeed where we support undemocratic military oligarchies. We can cry "liberty, democracy, and peace" where there is little liberty, less democracy, and no peace.

Finally, I ask whether Goldwaterism has not already won a signal victory long before the November election. I enclose a comment of mine printed in the New York Times of July 30 which may interest you.

Very truly yours,

LESTER S. CRAMER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 4, 1964.

President JOHNSON,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I consider the action you have ordered in Vietnam unnecessary and dangerous. Our presence in Vietnam and supporting one rotten regime after another is a mistake. You are getting the same bad advice from Dean Rusk that President Truman got from Foster Dulles.

We don't want another Korea, or worse.

Sincerely,

FRANK V. WELBY.

P.S.—I support the positions of Senators WAYNE MORSE and CHURCH.

Copies to Senator MORSE, Senator CHURCH, Senator KUCHEL, Senator SALINGER, Congressman A. BELL.

ALHAMBRA, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

Admire your courageous stand opposing the President's decision to bomb North Vietnamese bases.

STERLING BEATH.

BOWLING GREEN, KY.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have no way of knowing what type of response you are receiving in regard to your position on Vietnam but if it is typical of the usual in such situations I am sure it is less than pleasing. For what it is worth, I wish there was something I could do to help you on it. It is both infuriating and debilitating to be unable to cry out at, for whatever good the ultimate good may be, the absolutely illegal immoral and amoral, contrary to the simplest lessons of history course we are following in Asia. It is utterly colossal the way that we are having the rug yanked out from under us by this "soft-hard" sell semantic legerdemain. Of the few tattered remnants left in the barrel of freedoms is the right not to vote. I am going to exercise it. I can't tell the pigs from the people.

Cordially,

ROBERT C. MCCROCKLIN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
Thursday, August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to thank you for your most courageous stand against the resolution sanctioning the President's actions in southeast Asia.

Although you are alone in the Halls of Congress, I know you speak for millions of Americans who support you on this question.

Please keep it up.

Sincerely yours,

VIVIAN KUCH.

RIVERDALE, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My wife and I wish to thank you very much for the gallant fight you are waging to terminate the needless slaughter in Vietnam.

We have too few men like yourself in Congress. Please keep up this fight.

Very truly yours,

WALTER H. KOPPELMAN.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. SENATOR MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to thank you for your courageous stand against the resolution sanctioning the President's actions in southeast Asia.

Without minimizing the blame to be assessed against North Vietnam and the Republic of China, you alone have spoken directly to the American people about the adventurism and jingoism of a policy leading to the brink of war, a policy that cannot succeed where we support undemocratic military oligarchies. We can cry "liberty, democracy, and peace" where there is little liberty, less democracy, and no peace.

Finally, I ask whether Goldwaterism has not already won a signal victory long before the November election. I enclose a comment of mine printed in the New York Times of July 30 which may interest you.

Very truly yours,

WALTER H. KOPPELMAN.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. SENATOR MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We extend to you heartfelt gratitude for your patriotism and highest courage in this present crisis. You have followed in the footsteps of Abraham Lincoln who, with

the same kind of patriotism, the highest patriotism, stood against the Mexican War. We are sure that, as in the latter case, it will not be long before history will vindicate your heroic stand. The history books will cite you and your colleagues from Alaska as the towering heroes of this era. The American people will become aware of the debt they owe you for defending their supreme interests—the Constitution and world peace. You have acted to save the honor of our Nation. The overwhelming majority of mankind cannot help but oppose the surrender of the present administration to the rightist, militaristic, Goldwater forces.

Thank you for lighting a candle in the darkness. As the poet wrote "Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again."

Sincerely,

ADELE AND MERTON CHERNOFF.

LAMONI, IOWA,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: May I convey my admiration and agreement with your statements and position on Vietnam? I knew what you would say before you said it. I knew who would be the one to oppose the resolution giving the President a blank check for war. Thank you for your bravery—so seldom found in those who occupy positions of trust and influence.

I am sure many others feel as you do. Perhaps their influence, joined to yours, can keep us from an extension of the differences in Vietnam (the Congo, etc.) from argument to war.

You may remember me as one who authored and sent to you a book of "Kennedy Poems." You mentioned to me, too, once that you knew of my daughter Dixie, who once worked on the Hill for Carter and Burdick, and has recently been a Foreign Service officer stationed at our Embassy in Brussels.

Dixie has come home to campaign (for she loves campaigning and has done so often for such liberal Senators as BURDICK, MCGOVERN, KENNEDY—and HUMPHREY whom she hopes will be Vice President). She is a delegate on the platform committee to the national convention. And I have asked her to call at your office and say hello to you, if she has time while she is in Washington.

Thank you again for all you have done and (I know) will continue to do on behalf of expressions of reason and peace through negotiation—not bombers.

Truly,

LAMONI, IOWA.

HELEN HARRINGTON.

CLARK UNIVERSITY,  
Worcester, Mass., August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: One can only be dismayed that there were just two lonely voices raised in the Senate of the United States to warn of the perils that face our country if we persist in our current disastrous policies in South Vietnam.

You and Senator GRUENING stood alone against a tidal wave of unthinking jingoism which dominates not only the legislative chambers of our Government, but also the press, the radio, and television. It may seem foolhardy to persist in your criticism, but it is vital that you do so. The world must know that there remain some American leaders who realize, as the late John F. Kennedy put it on the Senate floor in 1954, that a policy in this area resting on arms and brute force could only be "dangerously futile and self-destructive." It was a tragedy that as President, Mr. Kennedy became committed to the very policy he had earlier challenged. It is a tragedy that so few today can see how true his earlier comment was.



August 21

we hope more will be courageous and speak out. Many of us see the great danger of the widening control of the military in our country which we've always thought of as under civilian control. And if we are informed we know what we are doing. We believe that if we are to survive we'll have to change our policy.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MARK ANDERSON.

WESTERLY, R.I.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your stand on the North Vietnam crisis—a genuine profile in courage. May God bless you and give you many more years of service.

Yours very truly,

JOHN F. CLIFFORD.

SEAL BEACH, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In a time like this when you are subject to much abuse for your courageous stand on the southeast Asia crisis I would like to express my sincere approval of your position. You are one of the few men in Government who have the intellectual grasp and humanitarian values which have changed with our changing world.

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JACOB MARKHAM.

UPPER DARBY, PA.,  
August 9, 1964.HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,

DEAR SIR: Am glad that you have courage to take an independent stand on the war in Vietnam, which, unless the United Nations or some conference can calm it down, may lead into one of those full-scale wars where everybody loses.

Truly yours,

CONSTANCE HYSLOP.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

DEAR SIR: I want to thank you for your fine stand on this frightful state we find ourselves in. The positions that are being taken, that we are in no way to blame is shocking.

Mrs. LUCRETIA R. BREY.

COLLEGE PLACE, WASH.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I wish to thank you for your courageous opposition to our becoming involved in war in southeast Asia. We wholeheartedly applaud Senator GRUENING's statements. South Vietnam is not worth the life of a single American soldier. I wired the President some time ago, against another Korea.

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P.S.—If there is anything we can do to help, let us know.

H.P.F.  
E.M.E.HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

SIR: You are the only sane voice in Washington. Keep it up; sooner or later history will prove you right. As I have written President Johnson, it's a ridiculous way to keep the peace.

M. D. CRUTHER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have written my Congressman, Senators and President Johnson expressing my endorsement of your views on U.S. southeast Asia policy. I believe that the silence of others in Congress in criticism of this dangerous policy is a disservice to the country and a miscalculation

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ELEANOR STOUT.

SHEBOYGAN, WIS.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: We thank you for your vote on the Vietnam situation.

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The BREHMERS.

RENSSELAERVILLE, N.Y.,  
August 17, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I applaud your action today in voting against the resolution essentially approving of U.S. aggressive action against North Vietnam.

Yours very truly,

L. A. ELDRIDGE, Jr., M.D.

P.S.—Posterity will be proud of Senator GRUENING and you.

L.A.E.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your speech regarding Vietnam. We support your position and hope this crisis will soon be resolved.

Yours truly,

Mr. and Mrs. H. KAPLAN.

VAN NUYS, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Good for you. Whenever the Democrats get into a political bind, with a possibility of losing an election, they create a crisis, alas J.F.K.'s sudden awareness of Russian military buildup in Cuba. Months after every other American had read about it from Senate reports, nothing could convince me that Johnson's administration did not arrange present crisis for political buildup, just as ARA is being used to create false impression. With Salinger's illegal appointment (and he stinks) and the other unethical, immoral acts, what is going to happen to our country?

MURIEL TRYON.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The telegram I sent Mr. Johnson last night, August 4, reflected the teachings of one of the few, so very few, ethical instructors of the U.S. Senate. Your solitary dissenting vote against giving Mr. Johnson " \* \* \* a predated declaration of

war (in Asia) \* \* \*" gives courage to one so outraged by U.S. imperialism and military braggadocio in southeast Asia (and elsewhere).  
Bravo.

Bravo.

PAOLO MUCCI.

FAIR LAWN, N.J.,  
August 7, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Good for you. That was a brave vote against warmaking power for President Johnson. I hope you keep on fighting against the dirty business in southeast Asia. Honest history will vindicate you.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN ACKERSON.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have just heard over the radio that you and Senator GRUENING voted against the resolution giving the President power to start a war in Asia against Vietnam.

I want to thank you for your courageous stand. I wish my Senators were thinking as you do.

Respectfully,

JENNY HIRSCHFELD.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My admiration for your brave stand on the Vietnam situation. And—how can we thank you for the many years of courageous representation you have given us?

I am,

FLORENCE HOLUB.

BOSTON, MASS.,  
August 1964.

SIR: Please be advised that CBS was the only network that aired your views on the Vietnam resolution, which should prove that reason has little or no place in American politics much less the mass media dedicated to the ignorance of 190 million suggestible slobs.

Now what happens when the U.N. requests the United States of America to vacate southeast Asia?

ROBERT ESTEY.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Let me commend you for your courageous vote of "No" to the Vietnam resolution. It seems that you alone in the Senate are capable of looking rationally at our activities in southeast Asia.

Sincerely,

GILBERT S. WALTER.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I commend you for your courageous stand on the Vietnam situation.

The world today is too complex to insist on total victory over communism. Let us negotiate or get out.

Sincerely,

L. J. RICE.

HOBOKEN, N.J.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I am the young(?) fellow who spoke to you at the dedication of the Jefferson National Bank in Miami Beach. If you recollect, we spoke about CLIFF CASE, etc.

Senator, I am proud of your stand on South Vietnam.

You represent the majority of thinking in this country.

You may not win, but you are truly a patriot.

DAVE COYNE.

1964

MANHASSETT, N.Y.,  
August 9, 1964.Heartily approve your vote against war.  
Thank you.

ROBERT HOPPOCK.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is refreshing to hear one's views propounded by at least one of those supposedly representing the public in Washington. Please continue your strong stand against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. I shall urge my representatives to join you.

ERIC PARTLOW.

ROCK ISLAND, R.I.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SIR: I wish to congratulate you on your stand and will write in your name for President next November. War has become a built-in part of our economy. If we had peace tomorrow, we'd have 20 million unemployed the day after. That's our only excuse for being in Vietnam.

HOWARD E. MARSTON.

DENTON UNIVERSITY,  
GRANVILLE, OHIO.

DEAR MISS ROCK: Would you please let Senator MORSE know of the support of myself and of the members of our seminar for his statement of August 5 on Vietnam. His vigorous and courageous action is welcome and necessary. Will he lead a so-called "liberal filibuster" against the resolution? While one recognizes the desirability of full support for Presidential action, nevertheless, we have no business violating the standards we expect others to observe.

Dr. LOUIS BRAKEMAN,  
Assistant Professor of Government.BOSTON, MASS.,  
August 7, 1964.HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Independent,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have addressed you as Independent, although fully aware of your party designation, because I wish to pay my respects to your independence of mind and spirit. It would seem that you alone have the courage to speak out when the other Members of the Congress are hysterical in their chauvinism.

You are not alone in your view that our Government has been provocative in its actions in southeast Asia. Anyone who had observed the trial balloons that have been floated both in Washington and in Saigon during the past weeks should have concluded long before the shooting began that we were preparing to send men and machines openly into Vietnam, and the disclaimer of aggression on our part is disingenuous, to say the least. What was the mission of our warships in the Gulf of Tonkin and were they supporting actively or in a standby position the attack by South Vietnamese torpedo boats on North Vietnam?

Without minimizing the blame to be assessed against North Vietnam and the Republic of China, you alone have spoken directly to the American people about the adventurism and jingoism of a policy leading to the brink of war, a policy that cannot succeed where we support undemocratic military oligarchies. We can cry "liberty, democracy, and peace" where there is little liberty, less democracy, and no peace.

Finally, I ask whether Goldwaterism has not already won a signal victory long before the November election. I enclose a comment of mine printed in the New York Times of July 30 which may interest you.

Very truly yours,

LESTER S. CRAMER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 4, 1964.President JOHNSON,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I consider the action you have ordered in Vietnam unnecessary and dangerous. Our presence in Vietnam and supporting one rotten regime after another is a mistake. You are getting the same bad advice from Dean Rusk that President Truman got from Foster Dulles.

We don't want another Korea, or worse.

Sincerely,

FRANK V. WELBY.

P.S.—I support the positions of Senators WAYNE MORSE and CHURCH.

Copies to Senator MORSE, Senator CHURCH, Senator KUCHEL, Senator SALINGER, Congressman A. BELL.

ALHAMBRA, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

Admire your courageous stand opposing the President's decision to bomb North Vietnamese bases.

STERLING BEATH.

BOWLING GREEN, KY.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have no way of knowing what type of response you are receiving in regard to your position on Vietnam but if it is typical of the usual in such situations I am sure it is less than pleasing. For what it is worth, I wish there was something I could do to help you on it. It is both infuriating and debilitating to be unable to cry out at, for whatever good the ultimate good may be, the absolutely illegal immoral and amoral, contrary to the simplest lessons of history course we are following in Asia. It is utterly colossal the way that we are having the rug yanked out from under us by this "soft-hard" sell semantic legerdemain. Of the few tattered remnants left in the barrel of freedoms is the right not to vote. I am going to exercise it. I can't tell the pigs from the people.

Cordially,

ROBERT C. MCCROCKLIN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
Thursday, August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to thank you for your most courageous stand against the resolution sanctioning the President's actions in southeast Asia.

Although you are alone in the Halls of Congress, I know you speak for millions of Americans who support you on this question.

Please keep it up.

Sincerely yours,

VIVIAN KUCH.

RIVERDALE, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My wife and I wish to thank you very much for the gallant fight you are waging to terminate the needless slaughter in Vietnam.

We have too few men like yourself in Congress. Please keep up this fight.

Very truly yours,

WALTER H. KOPPELMAN.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.HON. SENATOR MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I extend to you heartfelt gratitude for your patriotism and highest courage in this present crisis. You have followed in the footsteps of Abraham Lincoln who, with

the same kind of patriotism, the highest patriotism, stood against the Mexican War. We are sure that, as in the latter case, it will not be long before history will vindicate your heroic stand. The history books will cite you and your colleagues from Alaska as the towering heroes of this era. The American people will become aware of the debt they owe you for defending their supreme interests—the Constitution and world peace. You have acted to save the honor of our Nation. The overwhelming majority of mankind cannot help but oppose the surrender of the present administration to the rightist, militaristic, Goldwater forces.

Thank you for lighting a candle in the darkness. As the poet wrote "Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again."

Sincerely,

ADELE AND MERTON CHERNOFF.

LAMONI, IOWA,  
August 7, 1964.HON. SENATOR MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: May I convey my admiration and agreement with your statements and position on Vietnam? I knew what you would say before you said it. I knew who would be the one to oppose the resolution giving the President a blank check for war. Thank you for your bravery—so seldom found in those who occupy positions of trust and influence.

I am sure many others feel as you do. Perhaps their influence, joined to yours, can keep us from an extension of the differences in Vietnam (the Congo, etc.) from argument to war.

You may remember me as one who authored and sent to you a book of "Kennedy Poems." You mentioned to me, too, once that you knew of my daughter Dixie, who once worked on the Hill for Carter and Burdick, and has recently been a Foreign Service officer stationed at our Embassy in Brussels.

Dixie has come home to campaign (for she loves campaigning and has done so often for such liberal Senators as BURDICK, MCGOVERN, KENNEDY—and HUMPHREY whom she hopes will be Vice President). She is a delegate on the platform committee to the national convention. And I have asked her to call at your office and say hello to you, if she has time while she is in Washington.

Thank you again for all you have done and (I know) will continue to do on behalf of expressions of reason and peace through negotiation—not bombers.

Truly,

HELEN HARRINGTON.

the same kind of patriotism, the highest patriotism, stood against the Mexican War. We are sure that, as in the latter case, it will not be long before history will vindicate your heroic stand. The history books will cite you and your colleagues from Alaska as the towering heroes of this era. The American people will become aware of the debt they owe you for defending their supreme interests—the Constitution and world peace. You have acted to save the honor of our Nation. The overwhelming majority of mankind cannot help but oppose the surrender of the present administration to the rightist, militaristic, Goldwater forces.

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Truly,

HELEN HARRINGTON.

LAMONI, IOWA,  
August 7, 1964.HON. SENATOR MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: One can only be dismayed that there were just two lonely voices raised in the Senate of the United States to warn of the perils that face our country if we persist in our current disastrous policies in South Vietnam.

You and Senator GRUENING stood alone against a tidal wave of unthinking jingoism which dominates not only the legislative chambers of our Government, but also the press, the radio, and television. It may seem foolhardy to persist in your criticism, but it is vital that you do so. The world must know that there remain some American leaders who realize, as the late John F. Kennedy put it on the Senate floor in 1954, that a policy in this area resting on arms and brute force could only be "dangerously futile and self-destructive." It was a tragedy that as President, Mr. Kennedy became committed to the very policy he had earlier challenged. It is a tragedy that so few today can see how true his earlier comment was.



Your vote in opposition to the recent resolution of support to President Johnson may earn you calumny today, but I feel confident that historians of the future will feel that you upheld the honor of all Americans by your act.

Sincerely yours,  
MARTIN DEMING LEWIS,  
Visiting Associate Professor of History,  
FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

DEAR SIR: I heartily agree with your evaluation of U.S. action in Vietnam, and applaud your courage in stating these obviously unpalatable truths.

You know what it is all about, and I think I know what these latest warlike moves are all about, and I can only hope that there are statesmen in the Far East who can also say, as Mr. Khrushchev did, on another occasion, "We understand that it is election year, and we make allowances."

But for an understanding of the motivation behind these acts, I should be completely terrified by this latest exhibition of "brinkmanship" which I had hoped died with the Dulles era.

Please speak out loud and clear and often; your sanity is needed in these crazy times.

Thank you.

Mrs. JOAN B. LANE,  
ALHAMBRA, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please accept my humble and grateful admiration for your statements regarding the present crisis in Vietnam.

I believe that you show unique and admirable concern for truth without which there is little hope for peace in this atomic age.

Thank you.

Mr. and Mrs. STEWART W. HANSON,  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

Thank you, Senator Morse, for your statement on Vietnam. It is one of the few honest appraisals of the American position there that I have heard. The political fog surrounding the whole thing has been appalling.

Best wishes, and carry on.

GERALDINE DUFFUS,  
WEST LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We want you to know that we support your views on Vietnam. It is encouraging to hear that you have not changed your attitude even though we are faced with an international crisis.

Today it seems that very few in our country know how to be in the minority. You are extremely courageous and we hope your persistence is catching in Washington.

Sincerely,  
Mr. and Mrs. DAVID LANDY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.:

Fortunately for our country that we still have men like you. We often read your speeches which give us hope that reason will prevail. May God give you strength to carry on and influence your colleagues to get us

out of this dangerous situation in Vietnam through negotiations.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. JEAN MEISNER,  
SEATTLE, WASH.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am shocked and horrified at the undemocratic manner of the Congress in rushing through the resolution of approval of warlike action being taken by our forces in the Far East.

It would seem to me that this is a violation or at least an evasion of our Constitution. If others feel as I do, there should be much gratitude for your courage in opposing this hasty action. Many people I have talked to about this, wonder whose chestnuts we are pulling out of the fire in that area and why this matter has not been turned over to the United Nations long ago.

I believe as time passes, the citizens will become more and more aware of the danger inherent in giving the President such a broad grant of power and will demand a reversal of this action.

Thank you for your efforts.

Most sincerely,  
ANNE M. FISHER,  
Copies to Senators JACKSON, MAGNUSON,  
Representative STINSON.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I write to thank you for your great courage and leadership in speaking the truth about southeast Asia, not only in the past few days, but through these many months.

History will vindicate you. Your vote on the resolution today will be recorded in our history books forever. Our children and grandchildren will know that two men stood for peace, truth, and morality while all around them voted for war. What unhappy times these are, when men like Senator FULBRIGHT and others who know better, choose the path of narrow political expediency.

I pray that you will not falter. There are millions of Americans who feel as you do, and they sorely need a great political leader to speak out for them.

I am terrified that the push toward war cannot be stopped. The Goldwater nomination has had its effect—the administration is saying "me, too." What can an ordinary citizen do to stop the inexorable stampede to war?

I am truly interested in your ideas about how I and my friends can exert a counterforce to the escalation crowd.

I would appreciate any suggestions.

Sincerely,  
Mrs. SELMA R. REIN,  
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The stand you are taking in the current controversy over the southeast Asia affair is to be commended.

You and Senator ERNEST GRUENING are fighting a losing battle in the stand you are taking but at least you will go down in history as being among the few who are fighting to save our country from taking the same suicidal steps that France had taken a decade ago.

I also feel as you do that we have no business in the southeast Asia area but since the majority always prevails, so be it.

There are many who feel as you do but do not take time out to write.

Respectfully yours,  
ANGELO J. SANTORO.

UNIVERSITY PARK, PA.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I was glad to see you question some of the reasons for endorsing the President's action ordering retaliation against North Vietnam. Some form of international examination of the case to determine responsibility for "aggression" is needed, and I hope you will support efforts to involve the U.N. in this way.

Sincerely,

ELTON ATWATER,  
STATE COLLEGE, PA.,  
August 6, 1964.

THE PRESIDENT,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I think it is unfortunate that you ordered the retaliation against North Vietnam before the question could be examined by the U.N. Security Council. Our position would be much stronger if we had given the opportunity for an international body to determine the fact of aggression. So far as can be determined from the news reports, we could have afforded to have acted with more restraint and waited for an international consideration of the North Vietnamese attacks on U.S. destroyers. According to the news reports in the Washington Post, many countries seem to be skeptical about our version of events. Had we referred the case of the U.N. first, this skepticism might have been lessened.

In any event, I hope that you will now authorize Ambassador Stevenson to invite a full U.N. investigation of the incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin with a view to establishing responsibility for those incidents. I also hope that your discussions today with Secretary General U Thant will lead to the proposal of appropriate U.N. action through some form of supervision or peacekeeping operation which could discourage outside intervention in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and help assure those countries the opportunity to determine freely the kind of political and economic institutions they desire.

Sincerely yours,

ELTON ATWATER,  
Professor of Political Science, the  
Pennsylvania State University.

CAPITOLA, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

DEAR SENATOR: Just a few hurried lines to say that I agree with all quotations that I have seen in the press from your statements on Vietnam and that I honor you for your courage, penetration and sincerity.

Sincerely,

DUVION MCINTYRE,  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank God for your intelligence and courage. We are indeed fortunate that your voice can be heard expressing the need for rational action. I hope that the Senate will be able to understand and act with equal understanding.

Sincerely yours,

MARSHALL AXELROD,  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to commend you on your brave and solitary stand against the decision of the United States Government to act unilaterally against the North Vietnamese. You have always been a vocal and intelligent critic of our policies in southeast Asia, and I hope you will continue to act as a force of opposition and

strength against the prevailing view. This is a most necessary and potent force in our governmental system—the "establishment" must be challenged.

Continue your fine work and please realize that this letter represents many voices who are now being drowned out by the louder, but not more articulate clamor.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ROBERT F. HUFNER,  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We wish to commend you for your courageous stand in voting against the resolution supporting the action in Vietnam. Yours is the one sane voice in Washington.

You are not alone but have the backing of many of us. Enclosed is a clipping signed by some of us who do not want to spread the war in Asia.

We hope you will keep speaking out against this immoral war. Perhaps our Nation can still be saved.

Sincerely,

BARRY and JANIE FREEMAN,  
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.,  
August 8, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you and Senator GRUENING for your wise and courageous vote on the Vietnam resolution. You save us, who agree with you, that U.S. policy in that area is a tragic and criminal blunder from utter despair.

I wonder whether you have had time with your hectic routine to read "The Deputy," which, of course, portrays the tragic lack of courage and conviction on the part of Pope Pius XII that allowed the Nazis to go ahead unchecked in their slaughter of the Jews. This great play is an indictment of all (not only Catholics) who profess noble principles and fail to act in accordance with them. I feel that your part in our Government is similar to, though in a different way, that of the heroic priest in the play who died with the Jews. You stand in deed for peace and freedom, willing to work and sacrifice for them.

Keep on with the good work, and be assured that many people are with you.

Sincerely and with profound gratitude,  
MARGARET G. HOLT.

Copy to President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator, Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to express my deep appreciation for your courageous stand in the Senate on U.S. involvement in southeast Asia, with particular reference to South Vietnam, and most recently its activity in North Vietnam. Yours, and perhaps Senator GRUENING's, are the only voices being raised against our further involvement in that area. Unfortunately, the press has been conducting an almost total blackout on your views, and the American people may be led into a war without having had the benefit of your enlightening views, which may help to give them a more honest evaluation of the situation.

I sincerely hope you will continue to fight for American withdrawal from South Vietnam and for the discontinuation of the pouring of American taxpayers' money into

that country. It is sad to note that many citizens who feel as I do are being misrepresented by their Congressmen. I am sure you will agree with me that there are many Americans who are not behind President Johnson, Mr. Rusk, and Mr. McNamara in this dangerous venture, and whose voices are not heard above the sword rattling and the screeching newspaper headlines.

There are many, like myself, who are deeply indebted to you. I hope you will have the strength to continue your honest fight against the forces of reaction who will not rest until we have gone over the brink.

Sincerely yours,

ISABEL L. FANTEL  
Mrs. William Fantel,  
SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your wise and courageous stand on Vietnam. For some time I have been greatly disturbed by our unilateral action in that country. It is my understanding that our presence there violates the United Nations Charter, and surely this organization is our best hope for world peace.

Also, I appreciate your concern over the foreign aid bill. It is a fearful thing to realize that so much of our so-called aid is in the form of military equipment. If we are sincere about helping the world, we should put the emphasis on educating the people and developing their resources.

Recently I spent a year traveling around the world, and I could not help but be deeply impressed by the global display of American armaments and American soldiers. Must the image of Uncle Sam be that of a man with a gun on his shoulder?

Even if we are lucky enough to avoid a nuclear conflict, how long can we afford to run wars all over the map? Though our resources are great, they are not unlimited. Our democracy has not yet been tried by time. Taking the long view, we may be aiming toward self-destruction. Yet we are people of good will. Our great need is for wisdom in the use of our opportunities.

That is why we are fortunate in having a man such as you in our Senate. You have the ability to see clearly, and you have the courage to raise your voice. My hope is that others will see the light and join you.

Sincerely yours,

CATHERINE L. TER VEER,  
FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE:

I just have to write a few lines to let you know so many people I have talked to giving you credit for your honest stand you took on peace. We need more men like you that can stand up and be counted.

Because war is hell, and nobody can win.

Yours truly,

HENRY OLSON,  
AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please accept my heartfelt thanks and appreciation for your firm stand against McNamara's war in southeast Asia.

May I suggest that it is indeed strange that the President of the United States could respond so quickly to an incident that caused no loss of life in far away southeast Asia, but who is so helpless or indifferent to the plight of thousands of Americans in Mississippi and other Southern States who are being murdered and/or assaulted every day.

I urge you to keep up the battle for peace and a semblance of democracy in southeast

Asia and request that you do all possible to end the war against Americans in the South.

What can I do to help you?

Sincerely yours,  
TED MACMURRAY,  
WOODLAND HILLS, CALIF.

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to commend you—in fact, to thank you—for having voted against the proposal to give congressional endorsement to President Johnson's retaliatory raids on North Vietnam. It was one of the most courageous and principled things that has been done in American public life in a long time. I do not often write to Government officials, but now I feel that writing this letter is the very least I can do. I am sure that there are others like me who have felt almost completely estranged from "official" politics in the United States, but who now feel that a voice has been raised on their behalf, and on behalf of common decency.

Sincerely,

ROBERT ILLSON.

P.S.—Hoping to hear some of the debate on the civil rights bill, I happened to be present in the Senate Galleries during the series of speeches made at the time of General MacArthur's death, and I would also like to compliment you and some of your colleagues on your skillful revelation, during this process, of aspects of MacArthur's thought that had not received much attention.

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Let me express my appreciation to you for standing against the resolution adopted by the Senate to support the President's interjecting the United States into a warlike and aggressive situation. You were the only voice quoted on the very believable proposition that the U.S. Navy was in fact providing cover for the Southern forces attack on the North.

One need not attack the seaports of a nation as an action of repelling attacking patrol boats. Evidently, we plan on carrying the war, whose I'm not clear on, into North Vietnam. This war is clearly one of the independents versus the small, southern power clique. Reports I read indicate that the ruling regime of South Vietnam has little to no popular support.

Thanks also for helping to eliminate the \$800,000 ceiling per institution in the recently passed NEDA. I still lament that we must modify the word (and concept) of education with the word defense in order to get Federal moneys to finance such.

I hope you will do whatever you can to reduce the number, financing and developing power to establish more high school ROTC units. The H.R. 9124 just passed, and which I've fully read, may be good for a more economical and equitable college ROTC program to train the future administrators of a war machine, but need we indoctrinate the very young; confuse them into thinking that democratic processes and freedom can be bought with might, and to respect an order over reasoned action. I fall to see how we can gain anything through increasing the high school ROTC "capability."

I still recall your telling us at OSU (then OSC) in 1959 that if there was no test ban treaty within 10 years there would be in its place nuclear destruction (not your exact words but the same meaning). Well, we've got half of that test ban and half the time is gone. If your prophecy is correct we've still got a big job ahead.



Your vote in opposition to the recent resolution of support to President Johnson may earn you calumny today, but I feel confident that historians of the future will feel that you upheld the honor of all Americans by your act.

Sincerely yours,  
MARTIN DEMING LEWIS,  
Visiting Associate Professor of History,  
FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

DEAR SIR: I heartily agree with your evaluation of U.S. action in Vietnam, and applaud your courage in stating these obviously unpalatable truths.

You know what it is all about, and I think I know what these latest warlike moves are all about, and I can only hope that there are statesmen in the Far East who can also say, as Mr. Khrushchev did, on another occasion, "We understand that it is election year, and we make allowances."

But for an understanding of the motivation behind these acts, I should be completely terrified by this latest exhibition of "brinkmanship" which I had hoped died with the Dulles era.

Please speak out loud and clear and often; your sanity is needed in these crazy times.

Thank you.

Mrs. JOAN B. LANE,  
ALHAMBRA, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please accept my humble and grateful admiration for your statements regarding the present crisis in Vietnam.

I believe that you show unique and admirable concern for truth without which there is little hope for peace in this atomic age.

Thank you.

Mr. and Mrs. STEWART W. HANSON,  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

Thank you, Senator Morse, for your statement on Vietnam. It is one of the few honest appraisals of the American position there that I have heard. The political fog surrounding the whole thing has been appalling.

Best wishes, and carry on.

GERALDINE DUFFUS,  
WEST LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We want you to know that we support your views on Vietnam. It is encouraging to hear that you have not changed your attitude even though we are faced with an international crisis.

Today it seems that very few in our country know how to be in the minority. You are extremely courageous and we hope your persistence is catching in Washington.

Sincerely,  
Mr. and Mrs. DAVID LANDY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

Fortunately for our country that we still have men like you. We often read your speeches which give us hope that reason will prevail. May God give you strength to carry on and influence your colleagues to get us

out of this dangerous situation in Vietnam through negotiations.

Sincerely yours,  
Mrs. JEAN MEISNER,  
SEATTLE, WASH.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am shocked and horrified at the undemocratic manner of the Congress in rushing through the resolution of approval of warlike action being taken by our forces in the Far East.

It would seem to me that this is a violation or at least an evasion of our Constitution. If others feel as I do, there should be much gratitude for your courage in opposing this hasty action. Many people I have talked to about this, wonder whose chestnuts we are pulling out of the fire in that area and why this matter has not been turned over to the United Nations long ago.

I believe as time passes, the citizens will become more and more aware of the danger inherent in giving the President such a broad grant of power and will demand a reversal of this action.

Thank you for your efforts.  
Most sincerely,

ANNE M. FISHER,  
Copies to Senators JACKSON, MAGNUSON,  
Representative STINSON.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I write to thank you for your great courage and leadership in speaking the truth about southeast Asia, not only in the past few days, but through these many months.

History will vindicate you. Your vote on the resolution today will be recorded in our history books forever. Our children and grandchildren will know that two men stood for peace, truth, and morality while all around them voted for war. What unhappy times these are, when men like Senator FULBRIGHT and others who know better, choose the path of narrow political expediency.

I pray that you will not falter. There are millions of Americans who feel as you do, and they sorely need a great political leader to speak out for them.

I am terrified that the push toward war cannot be stopped. The Goldwater nomination has had its effect—the administration is saying "me, too." What can an ordinary citizen do to stop the inexorable stampede to war?

I am truly interested in your ideas about how I and my friends can exert a counterforce to the escalation crowd.

I would appreciate any suggestions.  
Sincerely,

Mrs. SELMA R. REIN,  
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The stand you are taking in the current controversy over the southeast Asia affair is to be commended.

You and Senator ERNEST GRUENING are fighting a losing battle in the stand you are taking but at least you will go down in history as being among the few who are fighting to save our country from taking the same suicidal steps that France had taken a decade ago.

I also feel as you do that we have no business in the southeast Asia area but since the majority always prevails, so be it.

There are many who feel as you do but do not take time out to write.

Respectfully yours,  
ANGELO J. SANTORO.

UNIVERSITY PARK, PA.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I was glad to see you question some of the reasons for endorsing the President's action ordering retaliation against North Vietnam. Some form of international examination of the case to determine responsibility for "aggression" is needed, and I hope you will support efforts to involve the U.N. in this way.

Sincerely,

ELTON ATWATER,  
STATE COLLEGE, PA.,  
August 6, 1964.

THE PRESIDENT,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I think it is unfortunate that you ordered the retaliation against North Vietnam before the question could be examined by the U.N. Security Council. Our position would be much stronger if we had given the opportunity for an international body to determine the fact of aggression. So far as can be determined from the news reports, we could have afforded to have acted with more restraint and waited for an international consideration of the North Vietnamese attacks on U.S. destroyers. According to the news reports in the Washington Post, many countries seem to be skeptical about our version of events. Had we referred the case of the U.N. first, this skepticism might have been lessened.

In any event, I hope that you will now authorize Ambassador Stevenson to invite a full U.N. investigation of the incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin with a view to establishing responsibility for those incidents. I also hope that your discussions today with Secretary General U Thant will lead to the proposal of appropriate U.N. action through some form of supervision or peacekeeping operation which could discourage outside intervention in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and help assure those countries the opportunity to determine freely the kind of political and economic institutions they desire.

Sincerely yours,

ELTON ATWATER,  
Professor of Political Science, the  
Pennsylvania State University.

CAPITOLA, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: Just a few hurried lines to say that I agree with all quotations that I have seen in the press from your statements on Vietnam and that I honor you for your courage, penetration and sincerity.

Sincerely,

DUVION MCINTYRE,  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank God for your intelligence and courage. We are indeed fortunate that your voice can be heard expressing the need for rational action. I hope that the Senate will be able to understand and act with equal understanding.

Sincerely yours,

MARSHALL AXELROD,  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to commend you on your brave and solitary stand against the decision of the United States Government to act unilaterally against the North Vietnamese. You have always been a vocal and intelligent critic of our policies in southeast Asia, and I hope you will continue to act as a force of opposition and

strength against the prevailing view. This is a most necessary and potent force in our governmental system—the "establishment" must be challenged.

Continue your fine work and please realize that this letter represents many voices who are now being drowned out by the louder, but not more articulate clamor.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ROBERT F. HUFNER,  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We wish to commend you for your courageous stand in voting against the resolution supporting the action in Vietnam. Yours is the one sane voice in Washington.

You are not alone but have the backing of many of us. Enclosed is a clipping signed by some of us who do not want to spread the war in Asia.

We hope you will keep speaking out against this immoral war. Perhaps our Nation can still be saved.

Sincerely,

BARRY and JANIE FREEMAN,  
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.,  
August 8, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you and Senator GRUENING for your wise and courageous vote on the Vietnam resolution. You save us, who agree with you, that U.S. policy in that area is a tragic and criminal blunder from utter despair.

I wonder whether you have had time with your hectic routine to read "The Deputy," which, of course, portrays the tragic lack of courage and conviction on the part of Pope Pius XII that allowed the Nazis to go ahead unchecked in their slaughter of the Jews. This great play is an indictment of all (not only Catholics) who profess noble principles and fail to act in accordance with them. I feel that your part in our Government is similar to, though in a different way, that of the heroic priest in the play who died with the Jews. You stand in deed for peace and freedom, willing to work and sacrifice for them.

Keep on with the good work, and be assured that many people are with you.

Sincerely and with profound gratitude.

MARGARET G. HOLT,  
Copy to President Lyndon B. Johnson.

LAURELTON, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator, Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to express my deep appreciation for your courageous stand in the Senate on U.S. involvement in southeast Asia, with particular reference to South Vietnam, and most recently its activity in North Vietnam. Yours, and perhaps Senator GRUENING's, are the only voices being raised against our further involvement in that area. Unfortunately, the press has been conducting an almost total blackout on your views, and the American people may be led into a war without having had the benefit of your enlightening views, which may help to give them a more honest evaluation of the situation.

I sincerely hope you will continue to fight for American withdrawal from South Vietnam and for the discontinuation of the pouring of American taxpayers' money into

that country. It is sad to note that many citizens who feel as I do are being misrepresented by their Congressmen. I am sure you will agree with me that there are many Americans who are not behind President Johnson, Mr. Rusk, and Mr. McNamara in this dangerous venture, and whose voices are not heard above the sword rattling and the screeching newspaper headlines.

There are many, like myself, who are deeply indebted to you. I hope you will have the strength to continue your honest fight against the forces of reaction who will not rest until we have gone over the brink.

Sincerely yours,

ISABEL L. FANTEL  
Mrs. William Fantel,  
SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your wise and courageous stand on Vietnam. For some time I have been greatly disturbed by our unilateral action in that country. It is my understanding that our presence there violates the United Nations Charter, and surely this organization is our best hope for world peace.

Also, I appreciate your concern over the foreign aid bill. It is a fearful thing to realize that so much of our so-called aid is in the form of military equipment. If we are sincere about helping the world, we should put the emphasis on educating the people and developing their resources.

Recently I spent a year traveling around the world, and I could not help but be deeply impressed by the global display of American armaments and American soldiers. Must the image of Uncle Sam be that of a man with a gun on his shoulder?

Even if we are lucky enough to avoid a nuclear conflict, how long can we afford to run wars all over the map? Though our resources are great, they are not unlimited. Our democracy has not yet been tried by time. Taking the long view, we may be aiming toward self-destruction. Yet we are people of good will. Our great need is for wisdom in the use of our opportunities.

That is why we are fortunate in having a man such as you in our Senate. You have the ability to see clearly, and you have the courage to raise your voice. My hope is that others will see the light and join you.

Sincerely yours,

CATHERINE L. TER VEER,  
FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE:

I just have to write a few lines to let you know so many people I have talked to giving you credit for your honest stand you took on peace. We need more men like you that can stand up and be counted.

Because war is hell, and nobody can win.

Yours truly,

HENRY OLSON,  
AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please accept my heartfelt thanks and appreciation for your firm stand against McNamara's war in southeast Asia.

May I suggest that it is indeed strange that the President of the United States could respond so quickly to an incident that caused no loss of life in far away southeast Asia, but who is so helpless or indifferent to the plight of thousands of Americans in Mississippi and other Southern States who are being murdered and/or assaulted every day.

I urge you to keep up the battle for peace and a semblance of democracy in southeast

Asia and request that you do all possible to end the war against Americans in the South.

What can I do to help you?  
Sincerely yours,  
TED MACMURRAY,  
WOODLAND HILLS, CALIF.

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to commend you—in fact, to thank you—for having voted against the proposal to give congressional endorsement to President Johnson's retaliatory raids on North Vietnam. It was one of the most courageous and principled things that has been done in American public life in a long time. I do not often write to Government officials, but now I feel that writing this letter is the very least I can do. I am sure that there are others like me who have felt almost completely estranged from "official" politics in the United States, but who now feel that a voice has been raised on their behalf, and on behalf of common decency.

Sincerely,

ROBERT ILSON.

P.S.—Hoping to hear some of the debate on the civil rights bill, I happened to be present in the Senate Galleries during the series of speeches made at the time of General MacArthur's death, and I would also like to compliment you and some of your colleagues on your skillful revelation, during this process, of aspects of MacArthur's thought that had not received much attention.

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Let me express my appreciation to you for standing against the resolution adopted by the Senate to support the President's interjecting the United States into a warlike and aggressive situation. You were the only voice quoted on the very believable proposition that the U.S. Navy was in fact providing cover for the Southern forces attack on the North.

One need not attack the seaports of a nation as an action of repelling attacking patrol boats. Evidently, we plan on carrying the war, whose I'm not clear on, into North Vietnam. This war is clearly one of the independents versus the small, southern power clique. Reports I read indicate that the ruling regime of South Vietnam has little to no popular support.

Thanks also for helping to eliminate the \$800,000 ceiling per institution in the recently passed NEDA. I still lament that we must modify the word (and concept) of education with the word defense in order to get Federal moneys to finance such.

I hope you will do whatever you can to reduce the number, financing and developing power to establish more high school ROTC units. The H.R. 9124 just passed, and which I've fully read, may be good for a more economical and equitable college ROTC program to train the future administrators of a war machine, but need we indoctrinate the very young; confuse them into thinking that democratic processes and freedom can be bought with might, and to respect an order over reasoned action. I fail to see how we can gain anything through increasing the high school ROTC "capability."

I still recall your telling us at OSU (then OSC) in 1959 that if there was no test ban treaty within 10 years there would be in its place nuclear destruction (not your exact words but the same meaning). Well, we've got half of that test ban and half the time is gone. If your prophecy is correct we've still got a big job ahead.



August 21

Thanks for your continued interest. Sorry I can't transfer one of my Ohio votes for you.  
Sincerely,

BRUCE ERGOOD.

Please send me a copy of Senator GAYLORD NELSON's speech and/or bill to end the draft. Thank you.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your courage and integrity in looking at the situation in Vietnam objectively, is much admired.

It is unfortunate that the American people have been given so little background with which to understand what is going on. We continue to pursue the "good guys" and "bad guys" point of view which is suicidal in this nuclear age.

Have you considered a speaking tour, to inform the American people, and to alert them about this and other crises in our relations with other nations?

Your presence in the Senate was never more needed. We are glad you are there.

Sincerely yours,

ELIZABETH A. WILSON  
Mrs. W. B. Wilson.

SEATTLE, WASH.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my gratitude and admiration to the only man in our Senate with brains and courage enough to take a firm stand against this Vietnam lunacy. What is to me amazing is the almost total absence of dissent here. A reporter (P.I.) took a street sampling of public reaction right after the President's television talk and all interviewed were for war. Are we humans on a par with lemmings? Eager to march en masse over the cliff into the sea of disaster. Where is the evidence that our educational system really educates? Teaches evaluation and good judgment? Good for you, and God help genius homo sapiens—sap, for short. Johnson should be impeached, McNamara and Rusk canned, and the Pentagon converted to a scientific lab for the elimination of stupidity.

Gratefully yours,

ALEX HAMILTON.

CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I admire your stand on Vietnam, it is just a political move by Johnson any one can see that. This had been a serious thing for a long time. Why didn't he move before.

I hope you and many Republicans will see that the declaration of war will not go through.

Very sincerely,

Mrs. ELLEN C. LUEHRS.

MIO, MICH.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

Sir: We just saw the film clip of your interview concerning Vietnam and the proposed resolution supporting future presidential action there. Were you the Senator from Michigan, you would have both my vote and my wife's for as long as you would care to run for that office. It is a shame there are not more men in Congress with your courage and convictions.

American forces belong at home. Their use in the illegal war in Vietnam in the defense of a military dictatorship is far beyond their call of duty.

Sincerely yours,

GAYLORD YOST.

MAPLEWOOD, N.J.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my agreement with and appreciation for your and Senator GRUENING's vote against the resolution authorizing President Johnson to take any military measures he pleases in all of southeast Asia. I am sure there are many, many citizens who feel similarly, although one would never know it from the vote.

Yours truly,

Mrs. ESTELLE R. LABA.

TACOMA, WASH.

DEAR SIR: Thank you for your opposition to U.S. involvement in Asia war. Our Washington delegation are married to the military capitalist clique and I told 'em so.

I do not believe the United States was attacked. I believe the Washington delegation is corrupt.

Sincerely,

BALDWIN JACOBSON.

P.S.—I hear the United States has built a concentration camp in Alaska for dissidents I suppose.

TACOMA, WASH.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I just heard from Mrs. James Richard (Maude) your courageous stand yesterday, the only one who did not vote on the Vietnam program of the President. May I in all sincerity tell you how much I admire and honor you for your unselfish act, your courage and loyalty to your country and the American people.

But because greed and power control so many of our leaders and so many of the people are brainwashed as it seems to me, others not interested, they will not understand you, the one man who stood alone because you believe in justice and love your country. And Mrs. Richard tells me in your talk on TV which I am indeed very sorry I missed, you said, if the Senators had stood by their convictions they had expressed to you earlier, when they came together to cast their votes you would not have been alone. This poem by Lowell expresses well what happened. "Slaves."

"They are slaves who fear to speak,  
For the fallen and the weak,  
They are slaves who will not choose,  
Hatred scoffing, and abuse,  
Rather than in silence shrink,  
From the truth they needs must think.  
They are slaves who dare not be,  
In the right with two or three."  
—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

God's richest blessings attend you and good health be yours for many years to carry on your work and peace and happiness be yours as is the reward of those who serve humanity unselfishly.

Very sincerely,

FLORIDA L. BYRNE  
Mrs. E. P. Byrne.

P.S.—Senator MORSE—your letter received and appreciated in regard to H.R. 1839 but I am not certain I understand. I am under the impression that part of the bill which would import beef free into the United States is not right any more than free import of wild birds and animals. You state in your letter "I have a vital concern that amendments to this bill relative to the imports of beef be enacted." Do these amendments if enacted stop the import? I am also deeply interested in the bills now pending for humane treatment of laboratory animals. I hope you are in favor of these bills and will

vote for them. Is there any chance of this legislation passing. There are some doctors very much in favor of them.

From my letter I feel you understand I am strongly opposed to our action in Vietnam and feel the only sane, safe way is to withdraw from Asia at once or we will have a nuclear war. I have expressed myself to my Senators and Congressman.

Mrs. BYRNE.

REDLANDS, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank heaven for men like you. Sometimes I think yours is the only sane voice in Washington (though HUMPHREY and FULBRIGHT do come out with some good ideas, too). I am with you 100 percent in your views on Vietnam. I just hope somebody listens to you before it is too late.

You continue to rate No. 1 in my personal political hall of fame. Keep up your courage and keep up the good fight.

Sincerely yours,

Miss GERTRUDE HAGUM.

MORSE BLASTS U.S. ATTACK; WON'T BACK WAR DECLARATION

WASHINGTON.—Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, yesterday assailed the United States as a "provocateur" in South Vietnam and said he will not support a "predated declaration of war" in Asia.

MORSE, a consistent critic of U.S. maintenance of troops in South Vietnam, voiced his opposition as the Senate's leadership mapped plans to push through a resolution today backing President Johnson in whatever steps are necessary to preserve peace and freedom in southeast Asia.

He charged, in a Senate speech, that the incidents which inspired the resolution—on which the Senate foreign relations and armed services committees will meet at 9 a.m. today—"is as much the doing of the United States as it is the doing of North Vietnam."

The resolution, expected to have overwhelming bipartisan backing, grew out of two attacks by PT boats on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. It was introduced in the Senate yesterday afternoon.

MORSE charged that a forerunner to the attacks on the U.S. destroyers was a known bombardment by South Vietnamese naval vessels of "two North Vietnamese islands within 3 to 5 or 6 miles of the main coast of North Vietnam."

He said the "clear implication" of that incident is that the U.S. Navy stood guard while vessels of South Vietnam shelled North Vietnam.

MORSE declared that the United States has much to lose and little to gain by continuing its "unilateral military action in southeast Asia, unsanctioned by the United Nations, and unaccompanied by allies" and should "strike a blow for peace" at the conference table.

"I shall not support any substitute which takes the form of a predated declaration of war," he declared. "I shall not support any delegation of the duty of Congress—of Congress—not the President—to determine an issue of war or peace."

"I shall not support any substitute which takes the form of military action to expand the war or that encourages our puppets in Saigon to expand the war."

DALLAS, TEX.,  
August 7, 1964.

U.S. SENATE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your stand against recent American actions in North Vietnam. Keep it up. Everywhere I go I hear people who regard Johnson as warlike. It seems to me that he is a puppet to the military. Little wonder the military can

run hog-wild over anyone it pleases, since we have a mass news media which glories in its every move.

Cambodia has recently claimed the United States has injured the residents of one of its villages on the border of South Vietnam by use of "defoliants." North Vietnam claims we have attacked one of its villages. And our President spouts out the innane slogan "leave your neighbors alone." De Gaulle learned the hard way the value of neutrality over there. If we don't learn it soon the world is in for more useless agony.

Keep up your courageous stand. You are gaining adherents every day. GOLDWATER will not get my vote and neither will Johnson.

Sincerely,

PETER A. MOOD.

OGDEN, UTAH.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: Concerning your statements on television regarding U.S. action in Vietnam: Thank God for fearless men like you who make statements of honest conviction.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM ROWLEY.

HACKENSACK, N.J.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The only complaint that I have about your comments, attitudes, and votes in the Senate concerning Vietnam is that you are not from the State of New Jersey. Thus, we do not have the opportunity to vote for you, or for that matter Senator GRUENING. (Perhaps Senators CASE and WILLIAMS would be interested in the above.)

My wife and I salute and congratulate you on your Vietnam stand, particularly in regard to your most recent vote in the Senate on the matter. Please persevere, so that other Americans may become aware of our unholy, illegal and immoral southeast Asian war. You do the United States proud, and make us non-Oregonians a bit envious.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT A. KLEIN.

LEVITTOWN, PA.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We thank God for a man like you, with your courage and stamina. If there were even just 12 more like you there in the Senate or in the House we would not all be so gaily following the military into Vietnam. I'm sure you are doing all you can to stop this insanity.

Our best wishes are with you.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD and ETHEL FIELD.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your courageous stand on Vietnam. You have my complete support and admiration. Keep up the good work, and good luck.

Yours truly,

HARRIET BOUGEN.

P.S.—I plan to cast a write-in vote for you for President in the November elections.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In the sea of voices of pompous self-righteousness and hypocrisy your lone voice stands out for reason—for justice. I am writing to thank you for standing up in the face of the hysteria. Keep your faith—a few are with you.

Sincerely,

MARIANNE FOX POWERS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Senate Office,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Congratulations! To be the only one to stand up for a principle takes great courage. May your health stay good for a long time. We need men of your principles and understanding, so rare these days.

Please send me a copy of your speech containing the reasons you voted against the bill backing the action in South Vietnam.

Thank you.

DAVID GREEN.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: It is indeed disheartening to preface this letter by having to assure you that I am neither a Communist nor a Communist sympathizer. But the value of dissent in American politics has rarely been so clearly exemplified for me as in your opposition to our current policy in Vietnam. May I thank you for your courageous stand. I trust you will continue to pursue and articulate the true interests of the United States despite the anomalous chauvinistic tendencies now manifested by the administration's action.

Respectfully yours,

ZANE GARFEIN.

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have been impelled many times to write you for your courageous efforts on behalf of the American people throughout the years, usually against great odds. But when I heard today that yours was the lone vote against the President's resolution, I decided to let you know right away that you are not alone and never have been.

All right-thinking people are appalled and revolted at the desperate actions of our so-called leaders in Congress. It seems there will always have to be a Korea, a Laos, a Cuba, and all of President Johnson's pretty speeches go by the board when another warmongering opportunity presents itself. Why can't our government learn the simple truth—we have no business in South Vietnam, whether we like it or not. Everything the President said applies to the United States, not to North Vietnam. We are heading for suicide. Please try to stop this lunacy.

Keep up the good work.

Mrs. E. SCHNEIDER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am writing to you because of the recent U.S. military action in Vietnam. I disagree completely with the U.S. action and policy in Vietnam.

The war in Vietnam is a civil war and the United States has no international legal rights in this area. The Geneva accord defined the legal aspects of Vietnam.

I urge that you lead the United States in encouraging the countries responsible for the accord to see that a negotiated agreement is pursued vigorously and unceasingly. Then take U.S. troops out of Vietnam so that a negotiated settlement would be possible without the threat of U.S. military force.

I refer you to Senator WAYNE MORSE's statements, reported in yesterday's New York Times, for a voice of reason to follow.

Respectfully yours,

PATRICIA M. CAMPBELL.

Copy to Senator WAYNE MORSE.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: This is to let you know that I fully support your stand as against the administration's recent moves toward escalating the war in Vietnam.

I have agreed with you all along that we had no business in southeast Asia in the first place and should have got out of there long ago. This latest hare-brained escapade in the Gulf of Tonkin is certainly the height of folly and can well lead to nuclear war.

Yours sincerely,

O. E. LINTON.

Copies to Senators KENNETH B. KEATING,  
JACOB JAVITS.

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I fully agree with your stand on the Vietnam situation as reported in the Los Angeles Times of this date. I admire your courage to call a provocation by its name even if it is perpetrated by our own Government.

With admiration and respect.

Very sincerely yours,

ZORAH E. SHEFFNER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Re U.S. versus North Vietnam.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SIR: I have just read this morning's newspaper report of your criticism of the U.S. "provocateur" action of South Vietnam, and particularly of the U.S. attack on North Vietnam.

It appears to me that our sending thousands of armed American soldiers to South Vietnam as "advisers" is hypocritical, as well as a violation of the written agreements regarding that area. It also appears that the increasing number of our "advisers" being injured or killed in South Vietnam indicates that they are unnecessarily close to combat in that area.

The reports of North Vietnam PT boats attacking our destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin arouse serious doubts, as surely such a small nation attacking the most powerful nation in the world leaves something—or somethings—unmentioned as to the cause of such daring, insane attacks.

Your statement that the U.S. Navy stood guard while vessels of South Vietnam shelled North Vietnam, leads a clue as to the real reason for North Vietnam's alleged armed attack on our naval vessels.

At any rate, my compliments to you, and I feel that you are a fine a U.S. Senator as ever we have had.

Respectfully,

J. ALLAN FRANKEL.

P.S.—My friend, Mrs. Adella Y. Fabel of 3670 Wasatch Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif., has asked me to endorse the foregoing.

Copy to Adella Y. Fabel.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Congress of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your indictment of U.S. retaliation against North Vietnam is to be applauded. It is heartening to know that the sentiments of a good many Americans in



August 21

Thanks for your continued interest. Sorry I can't transfer one of my Ohio votes for you.  
Sincerely,

BRUCE ERGOOD.

Please send me a copy of Senator GAYLORD NELSON's speech and/or bill to end the draft. Thank you.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your courage and integrity in looking at the situation in Vietnam objectively, is much admired.

It is unfortunate that the American people have been given so little background with which to understand what is going on. We continue to pursue the "good guys" and "bad guys" point of view which is suicidal in this nuclear age.

Have you considered a speaking tour, to inform the American people, and to alert them about this and other crises in our relations with other nations?

Your presence in the Senate was never more needed. We are glad you are there.

Sincerely yours,

ELIZABETH A. WILSON  
Mrs. W. B. Wilson.

SEATTLE, WASH.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my gratitude and admiration to the only man in our Senate with brains and courage enough to take a firm stand against this Vietnam lunacy. What is to me amazing is the almost total absence of dissent here. A reporter (P.I.) took a street sampling of public reaction right after the President's television talk and all interviewed were for war. Are we humans on a par with lemmings? Eager to march en masse over the cliff into the sea of disaster. Where is the evidence that our educational system really educates? Teaches evaluation and good judgment? Good for you, and God help genus homo sapiens—sap, for short. Johnson should be impeached, McNamara and Rusk canned, and the Pentagon converted to a scientific lab for the elimination of stupidity.

Gratefully yours,

ALEX HAMILTON.

CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I admire your stand on Vietnam, it is just a political move by Johnson any one can see that. This had been a serious thing for a long time. Why didn't he move before.

I hope you and many Republicans will see that the declaration of war will not go through.

Very sincerely,

Mrs. ELLEN C. LUEHR.

MIO, MICH.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: We just saw the film clip of your interview concerning Vietnam and the proposed resolution supporting future presidential action there. Were you the Senator from Michigan, you would have both my vote and my wife's for as long as you would care to run for that office. It is a shame there are not more men in Congress with your courage and convictions.

American forces belong at home. Their use in the illegal war in Vietnam in the defense of a military dictatorship is far beyond their call of duty.

Sincerely yours,

GAYLORD YOST.

MAPLEWOOD, N.J.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my agreement with and appreciation for your and Senator GRUENING's vote against the resolution authorizing President Johnson to take any military measures he pleases in all of southeast Asia. I am sure there are many, many citizens who feel similarly, although one would never know it from the vote.

Yours truly,

Mrs. ESTELLE R. LABA.

TACOMA, WASH.

DEAR SIR: Thank you for your opposition to U.S. involvement in Asia war. Our Washington delegation are married to the military capitalist clique and I told 'em so.

I do not believe the United States was attacked. I believe the Washington delegation is corrupt.

Sincerely,

BALDWIN JACOBSON.

P.S.—I hear the United States has built a concentration camp in Alaska for dissidents I suppose.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I just heard from Mrs. James Richard (Maude) your courageous stand yesterday, the only one who did not vote on the Vietnam program of the President. May I in all sincerity tell you how much I admire and honor you for your unselfish act, your courage and loyalty to your country and the American people.

But because greed and power control so many of our leaders and so many of the people are brainwashed as it seems to me, others not interested, they will not understand you, the one man who stood alone because you believe in justice and love your country. And Mrs. Richard tells me in your talk on TV which I am indeed very sorry I missed, you said, if the Senators had stood by their convictions they had expressed to you earlier, when they came together to cast their votes you would not have been alone. This poem by Lowell expresses well what happened. "Slaves."

"They are slaves who fear to speak,  
For the fallen and the weak,  
They are slaves who will not choose,  
Hatred scoffing, and abuse,  
Rather than in silence shrink,  
From the truth they needs must think.  
They are slaves who dare not be,  
In the right with two or three."  
—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

God's richest blessings attend you and good health be yours for many years to carry on your work and peace and happiness be yours as is the reward of those who serve humanity unselfishly.

Very sincerely,

FLORIDA L. BYRNE  
Mrs. E. P. Byrne.

P.S.—Senator MORSE—your letter received and appreciated in regard to H.R. 1839 but I am not certain I understand. I am under the impression that part of the bill which would import beef free into the United States is not right any more than free import of wild birds and animals. You state in your letter "I have a vital concern that amendments to this bill relative to the imports of beef be enacted." Do these amendments if enacted stop the import? I am also deeply interested in the bills now pending for humane treatment of laboratory animals. I hope you are in favor of these bills and will

vote for them. Is there any chance of this legislation passing. There are some doctors very much in favor of them.

From my letter I feel you understand I am strongly opposed to our action in Vietnam and feel the only sane, safe way is to withdraw from Asia at once or we will have a nuclear war. I have expressed myself to my Senators and Congressman.

Mrs. BYRNE.

REDLANDS, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank heaven for men like you. Sometimes I think yours is the only sane voice in Washington (though HUMPHREY and FULBRIGHT do come out with some good ideas, too). I am with you 100 percent in your views on Vietnam. I just hope somebody listens to you before it is too late.

You continue to rate No. 1 in my personal political hall of fame. Keep up your courage and keep up the good fight.

Sincerely yours,

Miss GERTRUDE HAGUM.

MORSE BLASTS U.S. ATTACK; WON'T BACK WAR DECLARATION

WASHINGTON.—Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, yesterday assailed the United States as a "provocateur" in South Vietnam and said he will not support a "predated declaration of war" in Asia.

MORSE, a consistent critic of U.S. maintenance of troops in South Vietnam, voiced his opposition as the Senate's leadership mapped plans to push through a resolution today backing President Johnson in whatever steps are necessary to preserve peace and freedom in southeast Asia.

He charged, in a Senate speech, that the incidents which inspired the resolution—on which the Senate foreign relations and armed services committees will meet at 9 a.m. today—"is as much the doing of North Vietnam."

The resolution, expected to have overwhelming bipartisan backing, grew out of two attacks by PT boats on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. It was introduced in the Senate yesterday afternoon.

MORSE charged that a forerunner to the attacks on the U.S. destroyers was a known bombardment by South Vietnamese naval vessels of "two North Vietnamese islands within 3 to 5 or 6 miles of the main coast of North Vietnam."

He said the "clear implication" of that incident is that the U.S. Navy stood guard while vessels of South Vietnam shelled North Vietnam.

MORSE declared that the United States has much to lose and little to gain by continuing its "unilateral military action in southeast Asia, unsanctioned by the United Nations, and unaccompanied by allies" and should "strike a blow for peace" at the conference table.

"I shall not support any substitute which takes the form of a predated declaration of war," he declared. "I shall not support any delegation of the duty of Congress—of Congress—not the President—to determine an issue of war or peace.

"I shall not support any substitute which takes the form of military action to expand the war or that encourages our puppets in Saigon to expand the war."

DALLAS, TEX.,  
August 7, 1964.

U.S. SENATE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your stand against recent American actions in North Vietnam. Keep it up. Everywhere I go I hear people who regard Johnson as warlike. It seems to me that he is a puppet to the military. Little wonder the military can

run hog-wild over anyone it pleases, since we have a mass news media which glories in its every move.

Cambodia has recently claimed the United States has injured the residents of one of its villages on the border of South Vietnam by use of "defoliants." North Vietnam claims we have attacked one of its villages. And our President spouts out the innane slogan "leave your neighbors alone." De Gaulle learned the hard way the value of neutrality over there. If we don't learn it soon the world is in for more useless agony.

Keep up your courageous stand. You are gaining adherents every day. GOLDWATER will not get my vote and neither will Johnson.

Sincerely,

PETER A. MOOD.

OGDEN, UTAH.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: Concerning your statements on television regarding U.S. action in Vietnam: Thank God for fearless men like you who make statements of honest conviction.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM ROWLEY.

HACKENSACK, N.J.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The only complaint that I have about your comments, attitudes, and votes in the Senate concerning Vietnam is that you are not from the State of New Jersey. Thus, we do not have the opportunity to vote for you, or for that matter Senator GRUENING. (Perhaps Senators CASE and WILLIAMS would be interested in the above.)

My wife and I salute and congratulate you on your Vietnam stand, particularly in regard to your most recent vote in the Senate on the matter. Please persevere, so that other Americans may become aware of our unholy, illegal and immoral southeast Asian war. You do the United States proud, and make us non-Oregonians a bit envious.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT A. KLEIN.

LEVITTOWN, PA.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We thank God for a man like you, with your courage and stamina. If there were even just 12 more like you there in the Senate or in the House we would not all be so gaily following the military into Vietnam. I'm sure you are doing all you can to stop this insanity.

Our best wishes are with you.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD and ETHEL FIELD.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your courageous stand on Vietnam. You have my complete support and admiration. Keep up the good work, and good luck.

Yours truly,

HARRIET BOUGEN.

P.S.—I plan to cast a write-in vote for you for President in the November elections.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In the sea of voices of pompous self-righteousness and hypocrisy your lone voice stands out for reason—for justice. I am writing to thank you for standing up in the face of the hysteria. Keep your faith—a few are with you.

Sincerely,

MARIANNE FOX POWERS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Senate Office,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Congratulations! To be the only one to stand up for a principle takes great courage. May your health stay good for a long time. We need men of your principles and understanding, so rare these days.

Please send me a copy of your speech containing the reasons you voted against the bill backing the action in South Vietnam.

Thank you.

DAVID GREEN.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

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DEAR SENATOR: It is indeed disheartening to preface this letter by having to assure you that I am neither a Communist nor a Communist sympathizer. But the value of dissent in American politics has rarely been so clearly exemplified for me as in your opposition to our current policy in Vietnam. May I thank you for your courageous stand. I trust you will continue to pursue and articulate the true interests of the United States despite the anomalous chauvinistic tendencies now manifested by the administration's action.

Respectfully yours,

ZANE GARFEIN.

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August 6, 1964.

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Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

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Keep up the good work.

Mrs. E. SCHNEIDER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The President,  
The White House,  
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DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am writing to you because of the recent U.S. military action in Vietnam. I disagree completely with the U.S. action and policy in Vietnam.

The war in Vietnam is a civil war and the United States has no international legal rights in this area. The Geneva accord defined the legal aspects of Vietnam.

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I refer you to Senator WAYNE MORSE's statements, reported in yesterday's New York Times, for a voice of reason to follow.

Respectfully yours,

PATRICIA M. CAMPBELL.

Copy to Senator WAYNE MORSE.

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Senate Office Building,  
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Yours sincerely,

O. E. LINTON.

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JACOB JAVITS.

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I fully agree with your stand on the Vietnam situation as reported in the Los Angeles Times of this date. I admire your courage to call a provocation by its name even if it is perpetrated by our own Government.

With admiration and respect.

Very sincerely yours,

ZORAH E. SHEFFNER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Re U.S. versus North Vietnam.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
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MY DEAR SIR: I have just read this morning's newspaper report of your criticism of the U.S. "provocateur" action of South Vietnam, and particularly of the U.S. attack on North Vietnam.

It appears to me that our sending thousands of armed American soldiers to South Vietnam as "advisers" is hypocritical, as well as a violation of the written agreements regarding that area. It also appears that the increasing number of our "advisers" being injured or killed in South Vietnam indicates that they are unnecessarily close to combat in that area.

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At any rate, my compliments to you, and I feel that you are a fine U.S. Senator as ever we have had.

Respectfully,

J. ALLAN FRANKEL.

P.S.—My friend, Mrs. Adella Y. Fabel of 3670 Wasatch Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif., has asked me to endorse the foregoing.  
Copy to Adella Y. Fabel.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Congress of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your indictment of U.S. retaliation against North Vietnam is to be applauded. It is heartening to know that the sentiments of a good many Americans in



this matter have found a voice in you. Although it would seem that you speak for a minority, and a frustratingly helpless minority at that, it is at least a principled one.

If there is any way in which my wife and I can aid you in your work for peace, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Gratefully,

Mr. and Mrs. FRANK S. JESSIC, Jr.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am glad that I can so honestly commend you once again for your brave opposition to the resolution that the President placed before the Congress. You and Senator GRUENING were alone in your stand; and while there seemed a little hope in your actions, it turned out that the majority of the Congress accepted what the President suggested, though a few voted for the resolution with slight qualifications which are not considered, I am sure.

It is so shocking and above all surprising that such action could so quickly be accepted by the Congress without lengthy and intelligent debate as to who "aggresses on whom"; and also, without even putting it into the hands of the U.N., which, after all, is an international body supposed to be able to give unprejudiced opinions on international matters.

How could we do this—and I am so grateful to you and Senator GRUENING for bravely opposing the newest threat to a confrontation on this issue of Vietnam which has never been thoroughly and fearlessly discussed in the Congress.

Why has no one suggested and implemented neutralization of southeast Asia? or even stopped military action while the debates as to those who did what could be carefully examined and discussed. Why such haste and such military speed? It is frightening and shocking. I am sure you feel that way too, and it is too bad that we had only a few hours of hope after the President's resolution and now that is the coldest comfort we can get to avoiding the approaching dangers of nuclear war.

I dare say there is nothing that we individuals can do, but if you have any thoughts where those of us who agree with your caution can help please, please let us know instantly.

Thank you for your action up to now, and let us hope you will not falter later.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. EDNA MACGOWAN.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SR: Support your position on not extending the war in Vietnam. I urge your support for the reconvening of the Geneva powers, negotiate a settlement and neutralize the area.

The further our commitment, the more difficult it will become to make a settlement.

We will also be alienating the people even more and make them anti-American rather than pro-Communist.

Rather than destruction, let us put our efforts into rebuilding, raising standards, give them a hope for the future and not line pockets of puppet politicians.

If we, on both sides, continue the present course, then we may be debating the issue in the next world. The days of might and right are over. So is white man's rules. These rules and laws are in need of negotiation.

Good luck and you can count on our support.

Sincerely,

Mrs. RUTH M. WILLNER.

MONTEREY PARK, CALIF.

BEULAH, COLO.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for saying some self-evident truths. We had flexed our muscles, like the neighborhood bully, and shown the world they can't throw spit wads at us. Whether we have contributed anything toward world peace, or the peaceful solutions of world problems, is very doubtful.

But thank you for being you, through it all.

Sincerely,

JOAN THOMSON.

BREWSTER, N.Y.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Immediately after your lone negative vote in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on the proposal to give the President full and exclusive powers to take what action he chose in the southeast Asian conflict, my house mate, Miss Tracy D. Nugguet, voiced you her many gratitude, and admiration.

May I now add my very sincere appreciation of your sanity and great courage in opposing the resolution, now passed by both House and Senate, on the double poured of its probable unconstitutional and its extremely provocative nature in a situation so replete with danger in the entire world.

It is to men like you and Senator GRUENING that persons like myself and my friend must turn in these terrifyingly dangerous times.

Again, I thank you from my heart.

With all best wishes.

Most sincerely,

Miss FRANCES WITHERSPOON.

P.S.—May I add that my father, S. A. Witherspoon (now deceased) when in Congress, stood up (with four other Representatives) against Woodrow Wilson in a dangerously provocative situation involving the United States and Mexico.

WAUKESHA, WIS.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I commend your forthright and courageous stand and am appalled with the ease with which the Congress supported aggression.

It appears to me that we have been "taking over" the colonial roles of Britain and France and provoking aggression by a policy of containment. I would support the idea of a 14 nation meeting to neutralize southeast Asia, with enforcement by the United Nations. I think that the public has not been properly informed of the gradual steps toward war which we have been taking and that we are taking a fearful gamble which will only bring us resentment and further danger in the future.

Sincerely,

Miss JANE STARE.

DENVER, COLO.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: Even though you are not a Senator from Colorado. You are part of our Federal Government and I want to congratulate you for the honest and sincere stand you have taken against the resolution supporting President Johnson in his orders to attack North Vietnam.

If our Federal Government will act before it is too late, its responsibility is to put our own house in order. Millions of people out of work, other millions working for very low wages and high cost of living—high rents, living in terrible slums—Harlem, N.Y.,

is a good and clear example of what we have throughout this Nation.

The John Birchers and the sons of Birchers, the White Citizens Councils, and the Klu Klux Klan worming themselves into the Republican Party and yes, even into the Democratic Party. President Johnson, now playing to the music of GOLDWATER to extend the war to North Vietnam. How about stopping the terror and church burnings and murders of Negro and white U.S. citizens who try to enforce the U.S. constitutional rights of the people of the Southern States to register and vote. Senator MORSE, you are the only one today who stood up in Washington, D.C. for what is right and sacred. History will praise your efforts and the generations to come, all over this world, will know of you because of your great struggle to expose those who are drunk with greed. And to bring the truth to the forefront in this worldwide revolution for sanity and reason.

Senator ALLOTT from Colorado, in answer to my appeals to him to fight for a better treatment for the agricultural workers in our State, sends me copies of letters inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, that raise the bogey-man of anticommunism.

Such is the trick that our Government is using today to fool the American people into a war that will destroy the people of this world.

Let us see if Congress will allow you to have my letter inserted into its records. This is supposed to be democracy in action.

God bless you, Senator MORSE.

Yours truly,

ROBERT TRUJILLO.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend you most heartily on your vote against giving war powers to the President in Vietnam. It is good to know that there was someone who was able to keep his head during the hysteria that has surrounded this crisis, and I am convinced that history will prove you to have been right.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

DUANE MAGILL.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

Mr. PRESIDENT: Regarding your newest apology for our murder in Vietnam, you are a bit confusing. It is true that—

"The attacks were deliberate," i.e. those of U.S.A. for years.

"The attacks were unprovoked," i.e. those of U.S.A. for years.

"The attacks have been answered," i.e. by large proportions of the Vietnamese people.

One, two, three, and how many more Presidents will lie to the American people and the world?

"We have not one ally," as a great Senator has reminded us. That is not surprising for the world knows the truth.

Yours for honesty,

JAMES E. AMICK.

BLUE SPRINGS, MO.

GARDENA, CALIF.,

August 4, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your words in regard to U.S. foreign policy, particularly in southeast Asia, have been brave, courageous, and honest words. I wish to both commend you and encourage you.

Unfortunately, it appears that the mass media distorts and belies what is happening in Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia. That we



pour millions of dollars into a military dictatorship, drop napalm on innocent civilians, and pursue an increasingly unpopular war, is upsetting and frightening.

Are we not risking the possibility of the growth into an all-out nuclear war? Your motion to cut by \$500 million U.S. foreign aid is a step in the right direction. Sadly, we appear to support unpopular dictators and make ourselves disliked. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

MARILYN VITTOR.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I agree with you re Vietnam—yet admit it's nothing but feeling which brings me to this conclusion—naturally I know no facts. It simply seems to me there is a certain correlation between this and those dear old missionaries who spread over the world putting Mother Hubbards on those happy, naked ladies who had no idea they were being shameless—and comfortable. Incidentally, the missionaries had it pretty good in some ways, didn't they—free travel, no doubt lots of household keep, and the lovely feeling that they were bringing "light" to savages.

Yes, I know the world is much more complicated these days. But people are still people—and all of written history bears this out.

A voter these days is sure on the horns of a dilemma.

K. BALD.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,

August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Bless you for your noble stand—you are not alone—there are so many, many of us that you alone are speaking for. We must not be dragged down the path of self-destruction. You keep going for us and we'll keep working that we may have some alternative out of this horrible mess.

Strength be yours, and again bless you. I have written to the President and Senator CLARK.

Sincerely yours,

DOROTHY KUNKLE.

ALHAMBRA, CALIF.,

August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thanks for clarifying what otherwise was an incomprehensible situation in Vietnam. My congratulations for your courage, honesty, and forthrightness in presenting a more complete interpretation of the current crisis.

Please put me on your mailing list. I'll be glad to help keep a man of your stature in the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. S. G. MOYSE.

AUBURN, CALIF.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you very much for looking honestly and then voting bravely on the Vietnam war. I was begin-

ning to be terribly frightened when I saw that our Government could take a dangerous and bullying action without one responsible figure doubting the official story. All the newspapers are speculating "Why did North Vietnam make such a provocative move." Everyone sees there is no reason but not one has dared to doubt that we were indeed attacked. But, of course, regardless of the exact facts in this incident, the whole war is a very doubtful undertaking. The massive use of napalm and concentration camps makes me feel that no Communist government could possibly be worse.

It is hard to hear much in America about the actual goals of the Vietcong or Ho. However, it is said that Ho is willing to accept a nonaligned or even a Western-oriented government in the south if trade relations will be allowed between the two halves of Vietnam. It was quite aggressive and just plain mean, for the United States to forbid the traditional trade by which North Vietnam exchanged fuel for food from the south.

The Vietnamese have always tried to maintain some independence of China. Ho Chi Minh shows the same tendencies. There is no reason why we cannot negotiate with the countries on China's borders as we now do with Poland, Rumania, and other "satellites."

Our Government has been acting irrationally, sensationally, and brutally in this matter. I hate to say this but right now we owe our security to the peaceful desires of the Soviet Union, North Vietnam, and even China. Yes, even China is acting more rationally than the United States.

I suppose this firm stand will make Johnson look good but I think it a dirty trick for an election gimmick. There is some risk involved even if Johnson had prearranged things with Moscow. But more important, these election games involve so many lives in Vietnam. It's shocking to hear liberals speculating on our chance to win and not one responsible figure will mention the brutality of this campaign. In Asian history books we won't come out better than the Nazis. Unfortunately, in the United States such thinking relegates one to the position of crackpots, pacifists, religious cranks, and Communists.

Thank you again for taking your position.

Sincerely,

Mrs. BARBARA GARSON.

BUFFALO, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to congratulate you on your recent statement on the Vietnam crisis and the involvement of the United States there. It always takes great courage to make unpopular pronouncements on public affairs but the courage required on such pronouncements when foreign policy issues are involved is multiplied many times; you are an outstanding public servant at a time when we so sorely need outstanding leadership. I know you will continue to lead the forces of sanity and reason; please let me thank you for it. I only wish I were in a position to cast my vote for you in some future election.

Sincerely yours,

BILL J. HARRELL.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

August 4, 1964.

Thank God, gentlemen, for men like Senator MORSE. Let this not be the only voice crying in the wilderness. I am sure the British Parliament and the King of England and the redcoats felt that they were defending peace and freedom and that the colonists were the aggressors in 1776. Also in the War of 1812 I am sure that the White House

was burned by the British in order to teach the arrogant Americans a lesson. Of course, Hitler always spoke for peace in every speech while he was preparing for aggressive war.

In the name of sanity, gentlemen, "Let us reason together."

Must we face an inferno, must we make the choice of compromising together or separately or be incinerated together or separately? Please speak for the people, not for the war lords. Speak for our children, not for our "interests." Our only hope is that China and Russia and the Soviet Union show more restraint than we are showing. For Heaven's sake, gentlemen, do not out GOLDWATER GOLDWATER. For humanity's sake, no more Hiroshimas.

DAVID RUBY.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,

August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Your stand against any further U.S. intervention and urging withdrawal of our forces in Vietnam in favor of United Nations sponsored mediation and elections is encouraging news.

It would appear that the United States is interfering with the civil war of another country in the defense of tyranny rather than the people's wishes. Each move our forces make only entangles us further in the internal affairs of a country that wants to and should be allowed to settle its own disputes.

It is essential that you continue your courageous stand for freedom and democracy in southeast Asia. Myself and millions of the peace-loving people around the world are backing your efforts.

Sincerely,

ALAN REICH.

BUFFALO, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Though you do not represent my district, yours is the only sane voice raised in Congress against the adventures of national administration. Recent military action by the United States in Vietnam can only give aid and comfort to Senator GOLDWATER and the Birchites. I am not proud that the resources of the United States, both military and financial, have been, and are being, used to stifle a people's march to independence.

We have replaced the French as the aggressors and have sidestepped using the 1964 Geneva Commission to bring peace and independence to this country. Too often in recent years we have acted unilaterally in foreign affairs, with the result that U.S. prestige is at an alltime low. It is high time that this trend is reversed.

I respectfully urge, Senator, that you request the Johnson administration to reconvene the 1964 Geneva Commission so that a peaceful solution can be found for the problems of southeast Asia. Our present tragic course could very well precipitate a global conflict.

I remain,

Very truly yours,

MICHAEL CLUNE.

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.,

August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We have just sent the following letter to President Johnson:

"For some time we have been concerned over the ever greater involvement of the United States in the war in Vietnam. Certainly it is becoming more and more apparent that the methods of violence we have resorted to are ineffective. Certainly no one could endorse all-out atomic war. Now, the



step-up in American participation increases risks but seems no more calculated to bring about the desired ends of peace, rights of self-determination, and independence for the Vietnamese people.

"We heartily concur with Senators MORSE and GRUENING that our present action is unwise and not justified. Will you please utilize your position and political skills to find an imaginative new way to resolve this situation, a means consistent with traditional democratic and Christian ideals?"

We support and are grateful for your leadership, Senator MORSE.

Sincerely,

CLARK AND PAT BAUWMAN.

JAMAICA, N.Y.,

August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Despite the fact I am not one of your constituents, I could not fail to write you to applaud and thank you for your integrity and unremitting courage in opposing the current disastrous policy of our Government in South Vietnam—indeed in all southeast Asia. Against discouraging odds, your day-by-day insistence on telling unpalatable and unpopular truths is one of the finest things that ever happened in the U.S. Senate.

I wish I could vote for you for President. Again, thank you—and please try to keep it going.

Sincerely yours,

LEONARD GOULD.

FREMONT CENTER, N.Y.

August 7, 1964.

I'm with you, sir. Let's get out of the Far East. Also, admit Red China to the U.N.

Mrs. G. WAYNE.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your opposition to Joint Resolution 189, "Relating to peace and security in southeast Asia."

Yours truly,

JAMES FOLEY.

EAST ORANGE, N.J.,

August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It is rather late in the day, I know, but I have long intended to add a letter to the many you have received in support of your position on the question of southeast Asia. It is heartening that there are a few Senators who are still willing to give the lie to the "big liars," but it is most discouraging that the majority of that body still prefer myths to realities. I now have to read a newspaper which I detest, the National Guardian, just to find out what you and Senator GRUENING are saying.

I used the words "big liars" advisedly, for I can only infer from the official and journalistic treatment of the U-2 affair, the Bay of Pigs, the Kennedy assassination, and the present escalation in southeast Asia, that there has developed a genuine desire on the part of Americans to live in the comforting world of international fantasies. Even some of the imagined demons and hobgoblins are a comfort, since they make it unnecessary to deal with the world as it is. Free debate is allowed, indeed encouraged—as long as it is within the framework of a consensus of fallacies.

The most recent incident in southeast Asia are in many ways the grossest insult to the intelligence of the public that I have yet experienced. Journalists and Government officials are hard put to advance any explanation

of the reasons for the attacks (if that is the appropriate word in view of the fact that none of the destroyers were even scratched) by the North Vietnamese. Thus far all of their far-fetched hypotheses break down. There is a very simple explanation indeed, which no one dares mention. It is indicated succinctly by two adjacent headlines in the New York Times of August 5: "Two Red Craft Believed Sunk"; "Khanh Is Fighting Threat of a Coup." If the unidentified PT boats were indeed such, then it would make the best sense to assume that they were South Vietnamese boats, firing upon our ships but deliberately missing, in an attempt to force us to escalate the war and support a march to the North. (I would not be so unpatriotic as to think that any American agency would have backed them in such efforts.) I would even be willing to believe that the PT boats were in fact North Vietnamese, if there were at least some attempt to adduce evidence which would substantiate this allegation. The very failure to introduce to the public any such evidence is itself an argument in favor of my hypothesis. Until there is an attempt at substantiation, I will not resort to the lectio difficilior, which would still not erase the numerous earmarks of foul play. It will be only too appropriate if the escalated war in southeast Asia is pursued behind the battle-cry: "Remember the Maddox." Has anyone thought to inquire of the Hearst papers what their agents were doing on Sunday last?

Just 3 weeks ago, after observing the shameless spectacle at the Cow Palace, I communicated to the Times my private fears concerning the possibilities of hanky-panky during the coming election campaign, created incidents domestic or international in the style of the sinking of the *Maine*, the Reichstag fire, the Kirov assassination, the various Polish "aggressions" against Germany in 1939, the U-2 affair, etc. This past Monday I wrote to them an "I told you so" letter, listing three definite instances, possibly six, which would confirm my original fears. I will conclude this by quoting the last paragraph of my second letter: "Perhaps the long, hot summer will be more like a fireworks display on Fourth of July. Slow and evenly timed at first, but, man, will we all be dazzled by the grand finale. And all red-white-and-blue too."

May I offer my best wishes and my personal support for your valiant attempt to bring some sanity to our discussion of and policy in southeast Asia.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES H. STAM.

FARMERS LIVE POULTRY MARKET,

Newburgh, N.Y.,

August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you on your stand before the Senate on the southeast Asia issue on presenting the facts of the issue.

If the Senate and Congress had a few more champions on bringing the facts before the American people and not the paid press we would have a country we could be proud of.

Any hearings of which you know that may be of use in bringing these facts to the unenlightened public will be read with much interest.

Yours truly,

ALFRED INTOMASE.

HAMDEN, CONN.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May we express our distinct approval of your logical, sane and courageous stand on the Vietnam situation,

particularly with respect to what seems to us the ill-conceived and somewhat hysterical move on the part of the administration.

We believe that the United Nations should have been called in into the case immediately rather than ex post facto.

Respectfully yours,

Mr. and Mrs. RICHARD F. MEZZOTERO.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,

August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend you on the stand you took the other night, which I saw on television.

These are crucial times for our Nation. Many are anxious that we can still say that we are a "Christian" nation. Thus we need to conduct ourselves in a manner that shall prove this to the world.

I realize that all of you as our leaders have a very difficult time to make the right decision, so I pray God's leadership to endure you with wisdom.

Once again, thank you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. WALTER BALDWIN.

CHAPPAQUA, N.Y.,

August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Though not in your district I cannot help writing to thank you for your work and finally your vote against the mounting tide toward war.

So many persons around here—and all across the country I am sure—feel the increasing intransigence of the United States is very dangerous as well as morally wrong.

However, most of us do not get around to writing, especially to a Senator from a State not our own, so I thought I would let you know that we commend your courage and applaud your stand which I fervently hope that the pre-election Goldwaterism now appearing in the Democratic Party will not grow, or burst, into a war.

Sincerely and gratefully,

RUTH McMOORE.

RICHMOND, VA.,

August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I believe you could say this is my first fan letter. My husband and I are fans of yours and we would like you to know of our admiration for your unique combination of intelligence, commitment, and courage.

When Republicans and Democrats were one voice over the necessity to resist "aggression" in South Vietnam (the 51st state?) why should there have been only one voice to say "aggression"? inquiringly. Yours is the only clear voice we hear in Congress today (and next to it is the sound of the other Senator from Oregon). We recently applauded you on the "Issues and Answers" program. Every single statement you made could have been an extension of our own viewpoint.

Please let us know what other Senators and Representatives share your feelings about the United Nations as the proper assembly to handle the question of "aggression," and the necessity to curtail military expenditures. I shall be glad to write to them. It would be wonderful if we could create even a small ground swell to convince the Democratic Party that we really do want a "choice" come November. At the present, both parties seem to be vying for first place in an attempt to discredit our posture in the world as a peace-loving nation.

Be assured that there is much silent applause for you around this country, and we would like to see your viewpoint corroborated by a number of so-called liberal politicians.

Appreciatively,

LORAIN and GORDON FELS.



SEVEN VALLEYS, PA.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your stand against U.S. militarism in Vietnam. It is most unfortunate that we don't have more Senators (and more people in general) aware of the stupidity of our war in southeast Asia and the vital importance of either taking this to the U.N. or reconvening the 1962 Geneva Conference, but it is good to see the strong stand you have taken and your valiant last-ditch fight.

From one grateful citizen with best wishes for better success in the future.

LINDA SMITH.

MANSFIELD, OHIO,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Never have I admired a man as much as I have you in the last few years, but especially the last few months. I have listened to you on the "Today" show and last night I heard you come out against our actions in Vietnam. Most of us lack the courage to say what we actually believe, it is so much easier to go along with the crowd, but in recent years I have found out I cannot do this and have peace of mind.

I do not believe the way the John Birch Society does, GOLDWATER and so many others that hate everything and have no answer except to say that we are the true Americans, and this scares me. They are only afraid for themselves. No matter how many people get killed in other countries, just so they don't get near us.

What the answer is is hard to say, but when you say this should have been taken to the U.N. long ago, I have to agree that is right. We don't get the truth in the newspapers or television and this worries me. How am I to find out who is right and who is wrong, but until I do I am going to make no quick decisions. Again let me say you will no doubt stand alone on this issue and many others, and this I have to admire, and I have heard so many others say the same thing. We act like mobs, and follow like sheep, just like the German people did Hitler. You are the only link to the other side of the truth that we can hear. Keep up the good work.

Mrs. M. E. BRADFORD.

GOSHEN, IND.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The crisis in southeast Asia gives me major concern. And the TV presentation of it on August 5 was of unusual interest, especially what you had to say. The comparison of the Tonkin Bay incident with that of Cuba in November 1962 was eloquent and pertinent.

Can you help me find the answers to these questions:

1. Are the essential facts available on the Tonkin incident? I remember with regret that Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin was unable to get (in time) the facts about United States-Japanese trade in the summer and fall of 1941.

2. Can you work with U.N. Delegate C. M. G. Adebo and others toward moving the world toward peace? His remarks on TV the morning of August 6 were very eloquent also.

3. Your reference to a policy of "beating swords into ploughshares" was pertinent. Can this incident be used to help move the world and, especially our own beloved country, toward peace? Disarmament seems to me one of the basics if the human race is to last long on this planet.

Some of your critics interpret you as wanting just to get more publicity. But I have a much higher respect for you than that. And I appreciate your willingness to stand up and be counted when it is a lonesome business. I trust enough American citizens will come alive on this and other problems in time and act as responsible world citizens. Any help you can give me will be highly appreciated.

Gratefully yours,

DAN WEST.

ST. PAUL, MINN.,  
August 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: May I offer my wholehearted support to a man who has the courage to stand alone and speak truth and facts.

I am simply nauseated by the deception pulled on the "American" people—by the childish and cowardly actions by which many Congressmen simply kow tow and utter only words they have overheard—"unprovoked attack"—we know "our vital interests"—money? Commerce? et cetera.

Why do we feed communism on one end and fight it on the other?

If a destroyer came to the shores of my country, I would certainly consider it an intruder. Would we let one sit (with plans) in the area of the Gulf of Mexico?

Adlai Stevenson advanced such cheap excuses—self-righteously telling of the burning of a school in South Vietnam et cetera—when in his own country people are burning churches and killing children—murdering each other—maybe we should clean our own house.

President Johnson is constantly telling the American people what they think, as though they were nincompoops who could not think for themselves. The eye of the television camera reveals all evasiveness and deceit—and cowardice.

Yours truly,

Mrs. ELEANOR WEIMER,  
Housewife.

VISTA, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U. S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We have just read your remarks on the issue in South and North Vietnam and agree that the U.S. military is only causing much of this trouble and that the whole issue should be handled by the United Nations. In the long run the people of Asia will throw off the white man's influence and domination and our meddling in the affairs of Asia will backfire against the people of the United States and history will record us in a most unfavorable light with all the peoples of Asia.

Sincerely,

LEE LAMOREAUX.

P.S.—President Johnson and the U.S. military are waging a war in Asia without a declaration of war by Congress. This is reason enough for impeachment.

L. J. L.

CARLSBAD, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I heartedly endorse your opinion of our attack on North Vietnam. And agree that the defense of South Vietnam should be conducted through the United Nations and not by the United States without aid of our allies.

Of what use is our Congress when the President can order an attack and then ask for approval?

Yours truly,

L. P. McCUTCHEN.

SEBASCO ESTATES, MAINE,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your courage to stand up publicly for a return to morality in our foreign affairs. Yours is a higher patriotism than that of the many who will criticize you.

Don't give up the fight. Our hope for real greatness lies in your type of clear thinking.

Sincerely,

ELIZABETH S. FINE.

EMPORIA, KANS.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We appreciate your speaking out against our policy in southeast Asia.

President Johnson's action is so obviously political expediency, I am amazed that it was not immediately and loudly denounced by the press and the public. Your voice seems rather lonely, but surely you speak for the people.

You put into words exactly our thought. Speak on.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. ALLEN CORYELL.

WOODSTOCK, VT.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I congratulate you on your courage and your wisdom in opposing our conduct of war in southeast Asia.

The use of violence and destruction cannot be justified indefinitely by labeling it a "fight against communism."

I hope you will do all you can to channel this question and related questions into the U.N. where it may be accepted as the responsibility of the entire human race.

Sincerely,

TAD BAILEY.

ANAHEIM, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I agree with you 100 percent on your stand concerning Vietnam and President Johnson. I think it's terrible the way we've acted in this area. I only wish there were more Senators with your courage and principles.

Also, your efforts to cut our wasted foreign aid have my strong support.

Thank goodness there are at least a few men left with some backbone in the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. JOHN T. WORK.

COVINGTON, MICH.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Congratulations for your stand on southeast Asia. You have a far larger following than you think. Wish you was on a ticket for President. As it is the people are only getting a chance to vote on bad or worse.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR STENSON.

SAN MATEO, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
U. S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Seeing and hearing you on television Wednesday evening, August 5, 1964, kind of lifted my spirits to believe that man is still above animal. Even our greatest men and even top leader, our President, clings to the cave era of human behavior. The worst of it all is that our present administration, cloaked in noble clothes, takes advice of a BARRY GOLDWATER. How long can we fall not to know that we are on the bottom? Interests are at stake? Who's? Speaking one time that war does not win anything



and asking the full right to wage a war as chief of the military and of the United States, is the only modern model of our administration's respect and feelings for the dead and misery they award us, the people of our country. Before it was Kaiser, then Hitler, now the Reds, our enemies. We always find enemies and always we the people must give our sons to be murdered. Oh, dear friend, please tell me will that ever end. To prove patriotism and love to our people by sending them to battlefields? My heart is heavy with pain. I would write to our President but he will never get to see it.

May God give you strength to fight the cause of our people.

Yours for human behavior,  
SAMUEL SHINER.

—  
PALO ALTO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Thank you for your courage in speaking out on the southeast Asia situation. It is appalling how close our Nation is coming to war, in this ill-considered undertaking. It would be different if we had ever really found out what the people over there wanted, and whom they wanted as leaders. If only now the Security Council can bring some moderation into the heat, perhaps this time we may escape having the whole world blown up. Good luck and good health to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. JANE TAYLOR GORAJ.

—  
ROCKLAND COUNTY, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please keep up your splendid fight to keep the United States from becoming further involved in war in southeast Asia.

We have enough to do here at home, especially by way of helping Negroes to improve their situation through jobs, more education, and better housing. This is the effort that should take up our national energies, not courting nuclear warfare that could exterminate us all.

With gratitude, I am,  
Sincerely yours,

AUBON P. MAN, JR.

—  
AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: As a student of history, I consider myself a fair judge of greatness. I humbly regard you in this category. Although I could trace the greatness of your career from your fight against the Tidelands giveaway to your Telstar battles and the rest of your notable fights, I write this letter in reference to your courageous stand on Vietnam. I have followed your perceptive challenges to the tragedy of nondebatable foreign policy, and I am in utter agreement with your views. Sad to say, too few Senators have joined you. Please pass my support on to Senators GRUENING, BARTLETT, and those other Senators who similarly view the outrages of our southeast Asia policies.

But it is in this time of crisis when the whole country leaps to ignorant unison to support a wrong war, that you are to be cited for your courage in remaining true to your righteous position. It is the kind of courage that few politicians are capable of. I feel sure that if the American people knew what really was going on in Vietnam (that is, if someone besides I. F. Stone printed your remarkable speeches) they would view U.S. policy with the same distaste.

It is important, Senator MORSE, that you know that there are many of us who applaud your lonely stand and pray that others will

see the wisdom of your position. We will do our best to make better known to the public our opposition to the United States unjust involvement. We know that your steadfastness and courage will not diminish.

We thank you and honor you.

Sincerely,

EUGENE A. LIEBER.

—  
NEW HAVEN, CONN.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I concur wholeheartedly with your article in the recent Progressive and your statements to the press about the war in Vietnam. I know many other people who feel very strongly that the war in Vietnam is morally wrong and plainly indefensible because of our United Nations agreements, and it is very heartening to have your representation in the Senate. You are doing an immense good.

Sincerely,

BARBARA S. STOCKING.

—  
SAN LORENZO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my admiration, gratitude, and thanks for your courageous statement with regard to the situation in Vietnam. It seemed the one clear note of sanity and wisdom amidst the discordant and confused sounds emanating from Washington yesterday over television and radio.

The incident which is supposed to have "kicked off" all the sabre rattling certainly doesn't seem to warrant all this sound and fury. I don't see how any native of Vietnam will benefit by a conflict; it would only serve to massacre people for as well as against us as well as destroy their country. Haven't those poor people suffered enough? Also, I can't understand how any group of people who are citizens of Vietnam can be accused of "aggression"—it's their country isn't it? By the same token, could we not say that the North was the aggressor in the South during the Civil War in our own history? It would seem logical to assume that an aggressor comes from outside Vietnam—such as the United States.

One wonders if the situation has been mushroomed into a brink-of-war crisis in order to show the Goldwater forces that the administration is just as ready for a fight as they are. It would seem greater political wisdom to be calm, reasonable, and just in this kind of situation in order to demonstrate that the Democratic Party is not the "war" party that the opposition brands it. The administration should present a strong, sane, willing-to-negotiate attitude, rather than that of a frantic, immature, trigger-happy, mentally retarded giant. We are too important, too great a Nation for such childish actions that are taking place this week. I, for one, feel no safer having heard President Johnson's statement. On the contrary, I'm scared to death.

Sincerely,

Mrs. GEORGIE BROOKE,  
Democrat, Eighth Congressional District,  
Alameda County.

—  
PARIS, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to state my support of your position, over many months, of the U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam.

I assure you, that thoughtful citizens in every State, are thankful that the people of Oregon keep sending a man of your ability and courage to the U.S. Senate.

Very truly yours,

PAUL W. RAMSEY.

SAND SPRINGS, OKLA.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: If we are plummeted into that final war, history will say of us that we were the people who could not see reality; we were the citizens who accepted, unquestioned, an official rhetoric which defined good and evil only in relation to which side perpetrated the action.

If our country and the world are to survive, more citizens and high officials must accept their responsibility to judge critically the course that our disastrous Vietnam policy is leading us. It is in this respect that I commend you for what could be called your appeal to sanity. Hopefully the United States will give up its inane claim to sanctity, admit its share of the blame for the injustices done to the people of South Vietnam and, over a conference table, help to resolve the conflict in the interests of the Vietnamese and, concomitantly, world peace.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES W. RUSSELL.

—  
MERCER ISLAND, WASH.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In this sad affair of the hostilities in southeast Asia, it is heartening to see one person able and willing to come out against the sweep of old tendencies. I hope there will be more, as the resolution is sent from the committee; but yesterday yours was reported as the lone dissenting voice.

I have repeatedly sent protests as to our unilateral intervention in southeast Asia. If there is the threat there that is pictured, I believe it should be handled by the United Nations or a group of nations less interested than we have become. I believe the people of South Vietnam are not being helped by this war. I hope your evaluation of the situation finds some voice of approval.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. LILLIAN W. FIEDLER.

—  
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are happy and in complete agreement on your stand against the fighting in Vietnam. This, in our opinion, is a losing war no matter who is successful.

We are also in complete agreement with you and Senator GRUENING in your opinion on "foreign aid."

We are proud of the fact that you helped cut \$500 million out of the \$7 billion budget, and that your goal is to cut some \$460 million this year. Keep up the good work, stay well and be happy.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. and Mrs. N. H. GLADSTONE.

—  
JAMAICA, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Once again I would like to congratulate you on your very courageous stand on the dirty war in Vietnam.

I agree with you that our involvement in South Vietnam can lead only to these types of actions. Moreover, if the New York Times of August 4 accurately reported the Navy's chronology of the Maddox's first encounter with the North Vietnamese boats, it is quite apparent that the Maddox was the first to fire. Therefore what this means is that it was we, not they, who were the aggressors.



For me, as for many others, it was very heartening to hear your message, sent to the memorial meeting for the dead of Hiroshima. But it is almost ironic that on August 6, 1964, 19 years (to the day) after the bombing of Hiroshima the New York Post carries a front-page headline about planes in South Vietnam carrying nuclear bombs.

Please, Senator MORSE, for the people of America as well as for all peace-loving people throughout the world, continue your work on exposing the U.S. role in southeast Asia. I have confidence that very soon all Americans shall know the truth and there will be a general demand for U.S. withdrawal from South Vietnam.

With best wishes for a successful struggle,  
LEE DLUGIN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to congratulate you on your courageous stand in the Senate on the Vietnam situation.

Too few people have the courage of their convictions and have an unbiased view of the problem with our involvement in Vietnam.

I am wholeheartedly of the same opinion you so courageously expressed on the Senate floor.

We need people of your integrity to tell the Nation the truth.

I salute you and hope you will continue informing the Nation of what is really happening there and point out the danger of our actions to the world.

Sincerely,

SYLVIA ROSE.

ENCINO, CALIF.,

August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are writing because we feel that the bravery you have shown in your stand on the recent crisis in Vietnam should not go unnoticed. We commend you for your words against Johnson's brinkmanship which is leading us dangerously close to World War III and the extinction of man. We feel that your action was more than patriotic, it was humanitarian. That which will benefit all men is always the wisest course in the end.

With much gratitude,

JILL LEWIS.

CHARLES AND SARABELLE LEWIS.  
EVA LEFF.

TEMPLE CITY, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to offer support to you on your position in the late developments in North Vietnam. I agree with you in your belief that the resolution sought by President Johnson would amount to a "predated declaration of war." It is imperative, as you say, that this be a matter for the conference table and not one of hasty retaliation or belligerence.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. WELLS.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I want to thank you for your courageous stand in the Congress on the issues of Vietnam and the United States. The newspapers and the news media have highlighted your statements of protest of our country's participation in South Vietnam. Much about the reasons for the need of U.S. participation in this area has not been told. I believe that any country has a right to self-

determination whether it is Vietnam in 1964 or the Thirteen Colonies in 1776. The country of France withdrew from Vietnam and the United States moved in with an advisory force of 35,000 armed military men. The total overwhelms me. Why are our boys dying there? Will the Republic of China stand by and let this participation go unheeded? I seriously believe that the United States is wrong in this military action, and once again I would like to commend your stand. We need it very much.

Yours truly,

MARY STEVEN.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

NEWBURGH, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I support your lone opposition to the Johnson administration's sudden bombing attack on North Vietnam.

I hope your courage in speaking out for peace and sanity will help educate both the American people and your fellow Government officials to the dangerous folly of our present espousal of force in southeast Asia.

We need negotiation and understanding, not angry attack.

I expect to write in your name for President in November.

With concern,

SAVI CLOUGH.

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: History will applaud you as one of the few men of honor left in politics. Please continue to speak out on Vietnam. The human race needs your courage and your honesty.

Sincerely,

The FIELD FAMILY.

Copy to the White House.

ATLANTA, GA.,

August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
The U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You may be alone in the Senate, but you are not alone in the Nation. This is to thank you for your courageous and rational stand regarding our recent action in Vietnam. Your reasons for this stand are sound, as are your ideas regarding our policy in all of Asia.

At present I feel helpless as I sit in my home, not knowing how I can help stop our continuing involvement in an area where we should not be. As you have pointed out, our present policy is directly violating those obligations to which we are legally bound internationally, including those set forth by the United Nations Charter. Your continuing voice is needed desperately in this struggle to bring about enlightenment among the leaders of our Nation.

Very truly yours,

ROY MAURER, JR.

Copy to the President.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are in complete agreement with you on the Vietnam situation.

Bravo.

BUFFALO, N.Y.

Mr. and Mrs. E. FRIED.

TUCSON, ARIZ.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your stand on the Vietnam crisis. It was refreshing on the television program CBS Report to hear you speak as you did. McNa-

mara was much too interested in "destroy." He used this word at least four or five times in his brief comments. Morality and the Christian way cannot exist side by side with "destroy."

May you find support in your convictions.

Very sincerely yours,

JOSEPHINE E. CHENOWETH.

A taxpayer who regrets that my tax money is used for military purposes.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to congratulate you on your stand with respect to the unlimited power which is being afforded President Johnson to handle the "crisis" in Vietnam.

It seems incredible that so many can be so wrong in this situation. I write this with a heavy heart. Nevertheless, I want you to know that your dissent was a bright spot in what, otherwise, is a very bleak picture.

At times like this I always feel that I haven't done enough to counteract this military hysteria, but I want you to know that I am grateful for the truth that you speak and have spoken. That it has fallen on deaf ears is a tragedy.

Respectfully,

MARY TAYLOR.

NAPLES, N.Y.

WEBSTER, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We have long been distressed over the presence of U.S. troops in Vietnam. Your recent article "Humpty Dumpty in Vietnam" appearing in the August 1964 issue of the "Progressive" put our fears into words so clearly and predicted the present confrontation.

You are to be commended for your continual warnings and courageous stand even against the present action taken by our Government in retaliation. While we criticize the Soviets for weakening the U.N. through failure to pay its debts, we weaken this organization by failing to use it first and foremost in a crisis.

May you continue to speak out against this foolish, brutal and immoral involvement in the Asian war. We hope that more voices may join you in seeking solutions to conflicts through the United Nations.

Yours very truly,

Mr. and Mrs. FRANKLYN ELLINGWOOD.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to congratulate you on your forthright and courageous statement on the subject of our country's involvement in the situation in Vietnam. It is deplorable that so few voices are raised in protest against actions that may involve the world in a nuclear war.

All the more reason that you should continue to speak out loud and clear against the dangerous policies of our Government that are committing us to interference in the affairs of other nations and to ultimate destruction.

Sincerely yours,

SYLVIA SNYDER.

MIAMI, FLA.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You deserve the heartfelt thanks of every American for your



one dissenting vote against Senate sanctions for the decision to attack bases and installations in North Vietnam. Those of us who think as you do especially thank you, as otherwise without a single expression of reason and moral justice in our Government we might well begin to doubt our own sanity.

These are difficult and trying times in our country when we seem to have substituted the morality of fear and greed for the morality of the Golden Rule. Our Nation today seems obsessed with the Birch Society mentality. God help us.

Very sincerely yours,

REYNOLDS MOODY,  
Lieutenant Colonel,  
U.S. Marine Corps (Retired).

AUGUST 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I would like you to know that you are, if you succeed with your plans and ideas, virtually saving the civilized world by your rational stand. I and my family commend you completely. I have been on a march which commemorated the dead in Hiroshima and we paid tribute to you, Mr. MORSE, as one of the fighters for freedom and peace.

I thank you, my good man.

JOHN PHILLIPS.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to congratulate you and Senator GRUENING on your courageous and sane stand in opposing the war resolution voted on today by the Senate.

There are many like myself who have not lost their sanity and see no excuse for our being in Vietnam or any part of southeast Asia.

Sincerely yours,

KARL E. SEIDENBERG.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Though not one of your constituents, I feel impelled to congratulate you for your courageous statement yesterday in which you pointed out that our Nation and its policies must share in the blame for the disastrous situation in southeast Asia. It is never easy to stand alone against facile slogans, nationalistic trumpeting, and breast-beating patriots. I, for one, am disturbed, even ashamed at the violence with which we have reacted to a situation our leaders admit they do not understand. Your willingness to try to direct the Nation's conscience to the fundamental nature of our problems in that area, your political courage in speaking your mind at this time, and your refusal to be blinded to the stark realities of this situation lead me to offer you my deepest feelings of respect and admiration. It is a great comfort to know that legislators willing to speak their minds are still seated in our Congress. Congratulations to the voters of Oregon.

Sincerely,

HAROLD N. ADEL, M.D..

AUGUST 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to know I support your stand on Vietnam. What we have done there and are doing is stupid and evil.

To the rest of the world, our country must look so reactionary and paranoiac.

Sincerely,

ROBERT HINDMARSH.

RINDGE, N.H.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to reaffirm my support of your stand on Vietnam. Immediately on the extension of the war, I sent a telegram to the President and urged him to take the problem to the Security Council and make a peace settlement.

Keep your voice loud for the principles of morality in the world. There are still many of us who are not fooled by the press, but dig out the facts through reliable publications.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MARY ELLEN LONG.

SOUTHWESTERN COLLEGE,  
WINFIELD, KANS.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: This is to assure you of my support in your stand on Vietnam. I question our moral right to be there, especially when we are supporting a military dictator while declaring we are there in response to the democratic Government and freedom-loving people of South Vietnam.

I am far from certain that world opinion sanctions our position in Vietnam. The people know little about democracy or communism, and in my opinion would like for both us and the Vietcong to leave them alone.

I have no use for any form of communism and am certainly not a leftist, but I do believe the United States is constantly creating for itself a bad reputation throughout the world.

This country has its greatest opportunity to prove to the world that it honestly is in favor of peace. Perhaps a conference on southeast Asia would do no good, but could it possibly do any harm? I had rather be at a conference table trying to negotiate a peaceful settlement than be accused by the world of bombing a tiny nation which was reacting as any nation might react when threatened with the superior might of the most powerful nation on earth. This is not meant to imply that I approve of the North Vietnamese PT boats attacking our ships. I believe we did the right thing by firing back, but I think before going any farther we should have taken it to the United Nations. Perhaps if the U.N. then refused to act, we might have been justified in bombing North Vietnam supply bases.

I realize yours is a minority stand, but I do want you to know that most "thinking" Americans support your views. It is not easy to take a stand which the warmongers and Goldwaterites oppose, but I can assure you that such a stand is admired and appreciated by all people of the world who realize that this great Nation can no longer maintain its "holier than thou" attitude.

I don't think any nation doubts that we have the force to destroy the entire world, but if force alone is all we have then we are in bad shape. I doubt that force alone can win real friends or command true respect.

Sincerely,

VERNON MCDANIEL,  
Assistant Professor, Department of Journal-  
ism.

OMRO, WIS.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Have always admired your sane, sensible, level headed views on the multitudinous global involvements of our country.

I have often told my family; the next or next generations in the countries to whom we are so benevolent won't give a "damn" what the United States did for them.

Thanks. Wish we had more like you.

Dr. W. M. DOLL, D.D.S.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to commend you for your courageous stand in opposing our involvement in Vietnam.

Truth is on your side and one day, the American people will recognize this fact. I only hope that your position is given more publicity so that there will be a basis for judgment before its too late.

I have written to President Johnson urging negotiations. Right now is the proper time for him to explain the consequences of spreading this war.

Bless you, for you are truly a patriot.

Sincerely,

Mrs. BEN SILLS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wholeheartedly concur with the position you have taken in the Vietnam crisis. I appreciate the courage and integrity it required for you to state publicly this truthful, although unpopular position.

It is time the people of America made their feelings clear. It is time to let the militarists know that we cannot afford to ignore the United Nations and Geneva Agreement, and still continue these aggressive policies in southeast Asia. We certainly must not risk war at this or any time.

Please continue in your efforts to gain support for these just and peaceful solutions.

Sincerely,

Mrs. LEAH MOSES.

KANSAS CITY, MO.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: We approve of your opposition to the administration's present policies in southeastern Asia and believe that most thoughtful and responsible people all over the world do so. This is not a question of ideology but of how to create a sane and reasonable world community. The United Nations proposals for that part of the world should be given a fair hearing and trial.

Sincerely,

GLEN HODGES.  
AMELIA B. HODGES.  
PATRICIA HODGES.

FAR EAST REPORTER,  
NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your correct and courageous stand on U.S. policy in relation to southeast Asia.

I am—and I find other friends, too, are—almost physically sick over Washington's actions in southeast Asia. The United States has no right to interfere in the internal issues of any country there; and it is the United States that should "leave these countries alone."

The hypocrisy of Washington's policy and the despicable use of American force against the people of the area make one deeply ashamed of our country.



Please maintain and intensify your courageous and open opposition to this dishonorable policy of our Government.

Respectfully,

MAUD RUSSELL.

Hon. Senator MORSE.

Sir: Yours is the only voice in this crazy wilderness of "give away, throw away, the hell with tomorrow" country.

How right you are about so many things, in particular with what is the United States doing all over. These slap happy, trigger happy American generals are going to push the wrong button yet. And I'd be willing to bet my life that those boats that attacked (?) the *Maddox* were manned by our friends, or who knows, closer yet. And now our friends, the Turks, where did they get all those jets, ammunitions and expert pilots? Let America look close to home for all these little wars. Somebody is getting a rake-off on these foreign aid deals, too. Why must we feed the world ammunition? Give them plows and let them feed themselves. If they had to earn their way, they wouldn't have time to play good guys and bad guys. But as long as America keeps shoving guns and supporting them in a way they've never had so good a time at our taxpayers' cost. God bless you, sir. I'm proud we have at least one man with brains in Washington. Keep it up.

Mrs. B. NESTER.

MANHATTAN BEACH, CALIF.,  
August 4, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*Capitol Hill,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR: Belatedly I am writing you this letter to commend you for your courage and determination to speak up against the nondeclared war in Vietnam that was started by President Eisenhower to protect the interest of the Catholic Church which dragged us into the Holy Alliance of Rome to protect the interest of the Vatican everywhere in the world in contradiction of the principles of the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

I take this opportunity to salute you and wish that more Senators would pick up the fight to help in the struggle to protect the dignity and respect of the United States of America.

With best wishes to you and yours, I remain,

Very cordially yours,

SEBASTIAN ARRIETA.

P.S.—I would appreciate it very much if you would send me more copies of your speech regarding Vietnam and also pamphlets about foreign aid.

BACKS MORSE

To the EDITOR:

It seems to me that Senators GRUENING and MORSE deserve our warmest applause for their sensible and forthright—indeed, in these days, courageous—stand on the recent Vietnam crisis. It is comforting to know that there are at least a few people in the U.S. Government who are not looking for the first chance they can find to run off half cocked to the barricades or the launching pad. With more people such as them \* \* \* we might have a little more objectivity and calm in this world, a little less of the apparently prevailing rage and frenzy.

HAROLD B. BARCLAY.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

EAST HARTFORD, CONN.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*Senate Office Building,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to say thanks for your courage on the Vietnam resolution.

To read between the lines of what we have been told indicates that your vote was the right one. I am sorry Senators DODD and RIBICOFF do not have your courage or sense.

Sincerely,

FRED BRUSTMAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*U.S. Senate,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am so proud of the integrity and courage you displayed recently, in particular, in connection with the Vietnam crisis. Many of us in Los Angeles share your views and attempted to enlighten some of our less-concerned fellow citizens by holding a peace vigil in Hollywood last Saturday night.

We support you wholeheartedly and thank you for standing up bravely for honesty and the brotherhood of man.

Sincerely,

JOAN J. JOHNSTON.

EDMONDS, WASH.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*Washington, D.C.*

We support your position fully. Best wishes.

Mr. and Mrs. BOGDAN.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*Senate Office Building,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for having the guts to speak out in the Senate against our grim and shameful adventure in Vietnam, slaughtering those poor, peace-loving people. It was the only voice of decency and good sense that was spoken. Best wishes to you.

M. JOYCE.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*U.S. Senate,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to express my appreciation for your vote against the southeast Asia resolution. I admire your courage in not voting with the multitude, and share your opinion of the wrongness of this "predated declaration of war."

In my opinion, U.S. warships in the Tonkin Bay are as provocative as would be Russian destroyers in the Gulf of Mexico. I am appalled by the actions of our Government to shore up a regime in South Vietnam which could not maintain itself for a month without our military support.

Sincerely,

BARBARA PARRY.

PONTIAC, MICH.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: May God bless you. I know He has rewarded you already for few have the courage you have. I understand you are much praised in Europe. Europe knows war firsthand.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. EVANS.

ARLINGTON, VA.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*Senate Office Building,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My very best wishes to you on the courageous stand you are taking regarding the use of unilateral interference in Vietnam.

Gratefully,

TOBY BROOKS.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*U.S. Senate,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

Hon. WAYNE MORSE: We thank you for courageous stand in the name of truth and sanity in a mad, mad world.

Please keep talking long and loud. Some of us are listening.

Gratefully,

Mr. and Mrs. CARL TUSCH.

FARGO, N. DAK.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
*U.S. Senate,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express approval for your dissenting vote for retaliatory measures taken against North Vietnam. The struggle between North and South Vietnam is one which should be taken up before the United Nations rather than by military action by the United States in the name of "peace."

Your various articles appearing in many magazines have stated the issues well. I am only sorry that the general public does not read very much except their own newspapers which are largely censored in favor of aggression in that country. You are to be commended for your intelligent perception.

Sincerely,

PHYLLIS LAHTI.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I support your stand on the Vietnamese situation. Please continue to be courageous.

Respectfully,

MILTON MCFARLANE.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for having the courage to say why you cannot uphold our actions in Vietnam. Oh, for more men of principle.

Mrs. EDITH HAHN.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: I wish to express my appreciation for your stand for a return to morality in our handling of (or dealing in) world affairs. There certainly are all too few in public life, or elsewhere with the courage or strength of conviction to speak out against any popular opinion or maneuver. Yours may not have been a popular stand, but it is of such from which great characters are built.

ARCHIE J. IJAMES.

AUGUST 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Allow me to congratulate you for your courageous NO vote on the President's plan for retaliatory action in Vietnam.

There are so many times your leadership in the sane way of doing things stands out like a beacon light in Congress. It gives us who share the same opinions a great deal of hope and cheer. May God bless you and add to your strength in these days when your message is so crucial.

I have sent a card to the President urging his reconsideration.

Sincerely,

GRETCHEN TUTHILL.

VENICE, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

SIR: Your position and your vote against the resolution requested by the President was surely correct and in the best interests of America.

Actually no U.S. ships should even be in the Gulf of Tonkin. And surely our overall policy in Vietnam (both North and South)



is wrong. Khanh is an out and out reactionary dictator and has nothing in common with democracy.

We must change our policy or it will end in war with China and nuclear disaster.

R. HALL.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to express appreciation of your consistently realistic and courageous stand on the situation in Vietnam. I am sending for an illuminating article by A. J. Muste which I shall presently forward to you although you may well be familiar with it already.

Sincerely,

GORDON H. GRAVES.

AUGUST 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I admire your courage and wisdom regarding Vietnam.

Sincerely,

BETTY OWEN.

AUGUST 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I only wish I lived in your State so I could vote for you. Only two voices, yours and GRUENING's (that grand old man) raised against our cynical, cruel, and damnable stupid activities in Vietnam (and elsewhere) where we are pursuing an unconscionable foreign policy of force and support of reaction.

Sincerely,

GROFF CONKLIN.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Thank you for your vote and stand concerning U.N. or Vietnam.

A. R. GRUMMON.

NEW YORK CITY,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SR: I admire your courage and convictions on the bombing of North Vietnam in the Senate.

There are many in our country who are proud of you. You can be sure.

Sincerely

H. RATNER.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to congratulate you for your stand on Vietnam. No war is the right solution. How blind most people are. It makes it hard for those who know better. I am a Democrat and have always admired you. The rest will have to learn the hard way.

Mrs. ROSS.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I commend you for your courageous stand against U.S. policy in Vietnam.

DAVID MOE.

ATHENS, TENN.,  
August 12, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your vote on Vietnam. Nice we have two Senators with commonsense. We should force Vietnam to the U.N. I fear we are bent on wrecking civilization. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. H. E. WALTHALL.

TROY, N.Y.

DEAR SENATOR: Thanks for your sanity and courage in regard to the South Vietnam vote. I wish you represented my State.

Gratefully,

HELEN OTT,  
NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: We thank you and appreciate you standing up as a man against the bombing of North Vietnam and giving the President the power to declare war without the formal declaration of Congress. Please send us a copy of your speech

you made on the 10th of this month. More power to you. Thanking you in advance for your speech. We remain,

Sincerely yours,

Dr. and Mrs. J. C. COLEMAN.

DEAR SENATOR: Please accept our heartfelt thanks for your stand on the Vietnam issue. It is a shameful thing that you are not joined by others in Government who must feel as you do on these questions, but who lack the courage to speak out. There must be multitudes of Americans who join us in thanking you.

The McDONOUGHs.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We do not support President Johnson's action in Vietnam. You and Senator GRUENING seem to be the only two sane people in the Senate. In fact, you in too many instances, seem to be the only sane person in the place. I believe you spoke against the multilateral force of NATO also.

Dr. and Mrs. TERENCE BUTLER.

DES MOINES, IOWA,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We commend you for your courageous stand on the Vietnam issue. We have been saying and thinking the same for a long time.

Mr. and Mrs. CLAY C. TREADWAY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

HON. SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for speaking out with courage on the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. Please keep up your one-man crusade. Many Americans are with you.

E. BERGSTROM.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your courage and excellent common sense in opposing almost alone the spread of war in Vietnam deserves the praise and support of everyone who believes that today the first order of business for the human race is peace.

Sincerely,

PEGGY WALKER.

LOS GATOS, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you on your stand on the North Vietnam-Tonkin Bay deal. It is good to know we have a man or two in some States—such as Oregon and Alaska—who think clearly and has the heart to express himself the way you do. I admire you immensely. If and when I live in Oregon I will certainly vote for you. I am a Democrat, always will be.

C. R. WINIS, R.N.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You are a courageous good man to speak up as you did on Vietnam. You spoke simple clear truth in an atmosphere where such truth is unpopular and is shunned. I write you to let you know that you are being heard—and I hope to encourage you to keep up the good work—until all our "swords are turned into plow shares."

Sincerely,

WALDEMAR HILLE.

LAGUNA BEACH, CALIF.,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your good sense and voice on southeast Asia and Vietnam.

In a situation where my country appears determined to take the Hitler road, there appears little effective difference between the available political choices.

I shall write in your name and that of Senator GRUENING on the presidential and

vice presidential tickets, also Linus Pauling for Senator from California.

Cordially,

R. B. ROGERS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I should appreciate receiving copies of all your statements of this week on the southeast Asia crisis.

Thank you.

M. K. STONE.

BRONX, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I admire your opposition to our participation in the South Vietnamese civil war, and in particular your refusal to support our recent raids against North Vietnam.

May I please have a copy of your speech opposing the grant of special powers to President Johnson in southeast Asia.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL LEVINE.

ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thanks sincerely for voting against the Vietnam resolution. History will make you a prophet.

Please send any of your speeches on this matter. Also No. 3 of Our Foreign Aid Folly.

Appreciatively,

BILL RENKEL.

URBANA, ILL.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your dissent on President Johnson's policy during the present Vietnam crisis is really a dissent covering the past 10 years of southeast Asian policy. I am disturbed that I have thus far been shielded from your views, and I hope you will do me the favor of amplifying them by your own statements or by references to statements by other spokesmen for your position. I will appreciate whatever amplification you can provide and I commend you for articulating your position so firmly and clearly. It is unfortunate that your views were not circulated more widely and at an earlier date, since chances for a policy debate are now minimal.

Sincerely,

RONALD HAAK.

RICHLAND, WASH.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: Your thoughtful and careful analysis of the Vietnam situation is appreciated. Recent events prove the correctness of your views. Do you have available reprints of your speeches?

ARCHIE WILSON.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

SIR: Good. Good. Good. Support your effort to restrain imperial effort in Vietnam. Since 1898 there have been those who have stood for justice in our foreign relations. You are already vindicated.

However, I would have appreciated a reply to an earlier letter to you. That might have been helpful to my understanding in this matter.

Regards,

R. JONAS.

SAN ANSELMO, CALIF.,  
August 13, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: Thank you for a breath of sanity in a nearly crazy gathering. The excerpts that I have heard from your recent speeches are so fine, that I should appreciate your sending me the entire text of as



many as you have on hand on the subject of Vietnam and the Near East.

It would almost be worth moving to your State so that I might vote for you. Our choices here are so poor.

Yours very truly,

SYD M. HALL.

AUGUST 17, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I and my wife are sending our heartfelt thanks to you for your courageous speech delivered August 5 on the southeast Asia situation. The recommendations you made have to be carried out for the sake of world peace and a step toward restoring democratic debate and procedure in our Government and press.

What's the hope for peace and coexistence in this hour of despair? Do you and Senator GRUENING represent the only legislators with any fortitude and commonsense? Sir, for the sake of thousands of Americans, keep up the great job.

Sincerely,

MEYER AND MADGE LASMAN,  
SUN VALLEY, CALIF.

HORNCHURCH, ESSEX, ENGLAND.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It may be that you will receive some abusive letters about your action in voting against the resolution in the Senate to give President Johnson power to take further measures in the Far East; so I would like you to know that there are many people in this country—as no doubt there are in your own country also, although they will not get much publicity—who are very grateful that there was one man in the Senate with the wisdom to oppose this resolution and the courage to do so against such a majority. I would wish to congratulate you on that courage, and to express a hope that the day will come when it will be more widely recognized.

Were there more men like you, the prospects of peace would be brighter than they are, and the image of the United States of America in the eyes of the world a more favorable one.

Yours sincerely,

D. MARTIN DAKIN.

GOLETA, CALIF.,  
August 17, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We thank you for being man, and American enough to fight those two idiotic and unholy things—foreign aid and our troops in Vietnam. God bless you.

We in California wish that we had a man as good as you in the Senate.

Yours respectfully,

Mr. and Mrs. G. A. BORQUEST.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 17, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: For a long time I have followed you so to speak as a Member of the U.S. Senate.

I may not have always agreed with your viewpoint, and many times I have had to defend your integrity with other persons, who may not understand the complex problems a Senator faces as a Member of the Senate, but also have the people who elected him back him up, so that he will not be isolated by his political enemies and as a registered independent voter in California, I wish to congratulate you in your staunch defense of the decency that the American people really believe in and that you so

ably expressed in the Senate on the question of the situation in Vietnam.

For a long time I have wished that you could have been a candidate for President of the United States and I know that you would be able to lead the American people to a peaceful life and that you would lead the American people as members of the United Nations to bring about a world at peace with all humanity inhabiting this earth. When this gangster general in South Vietnam recently called you a traitor, as an American citizen I felt deeply attached to you knowing that he (the general so-called) was only the mouthpiece of a group of persons who have only the lust of power and regardless of the cost of human slaughter in their pursuit of dominating the human race.

Accept my fondest respect for you as a Member of the Senate and the people of Oregon. They could not have chosen a better representative to represent them in the U.S. Government.

If at any time I can be of any service to you you are free to call on me.

Respectfully yours,

JOE ROBERTI.

P.S.—If you would refuse to take that increase voted for in raising the salaries \$7,500 per year you would put a lot of peoples enemies on the spot and place yourself forever in the minds of the people as one who is their leader and friend.

ALEXANDER RICHTER,  
REGISTERED ARCHITECT,  
Garrett Park, Md., August 18, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your courageous stand on the war in Vietnam truly reflects the wishes of most Americans. Keep up the good fight.

Devotedly yours,

ALEXANDER RICHTER.

Mr. and Mrs. CARL D. LAUSCHE,  
Forks, Wash., August 16, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are writing to commend you on your previous and recent stand in regards to United States policy in southeast Asia. You have taken the most courageous and logical step to help remove not only the United States but the whole world from an area fraught with danger. Unfortunately the majority of Congressmen and Senators have not yet had the courage to speak out as you have, but we feel it is a must if we are going to survive in this world of ours.

We have been aware of the futility of this undeclared war and the tragic consequences of escalation. Therefore, we have made our views known through our local press, the Port Angeles Evening News, and the Washington-Oregon Shingle Weavers paper.

We are sure you would be happy to know that there are people who support you in your endeavors on this most important issue. Enclosed is a letter printed by the Port Angeles Evening News and was also printed in the Shingle Weavers paper. We hope you will continue to work for adherence to the Geneva agreement and free elections in Vietnam, Laos, and from recent news reports a policy of nonintervention in the Congo.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. CARL D. LAUSCHE.

HUNTINGTON PARK, CALIF.,  
August 16, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate.

Senator MORSE: I was proud to read your name in the paper the other day. The issue over the dissention regarding dictatorial powers for the President.

I was not aware that we had such courage in the Senate to resist landslide hysteria.

This Nation is very short on presidential material but it is good to know that we have at least two good contenders left in the Senate. I am proud to see our good neighbor Alaska has also shown courage in the wake of hysteria.

It is good to know that there were two level headed Americans, besides myself, that were old fashioned enough to defend American liberties. I didn't think we had near that many left.

GLENN HUMPHREY.

LEONIA, N.J.,  
August 19, 1964.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: A word of appreciation for your stand all along on the South Vietnam situation, and particularly for your lovely speech at the time of the Senate resolution.

I would certainly like an explanation of (1) Why, in such a large group of Congressmen, is it possible for only two to stand for a given position (it defies the law of statistics)?, and (2) Why Senator MANSFIELD, in view of his past utterances on South Vietnam, can possibly not have voted against the resolution?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. PRISCILLA SILBER.

VAN NUYS, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

HON. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
The White House, Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to commend you on your stand of withholding support of the President's resolution pertaining to Vietnam. It was unfortunate that your voice was in the minority for a position of greater caution in the U.S. involvement of the Vietnam war. Certainly the ramifications of enlarging our support to South Vietnam to more advanced proportions require most serious consideration, and in the face of waging a full-scale war, with possibly China's participation, we cannot be too careful in making a final decision. The risk of initiating what might result in a nuclear conflict is too treacherous to take lightly, and I fear this grave responsibility is not assumed by enough of our representatives in government with the essential reservations necessary that such a decision requires.

We must be thankful to Senators such as yourself for reminding the hastier ones that our foreign commitments must be made on the basis of extreme caution in critical times such as these, when a move in one direction might prove sadly disastrous for humanity the world over.

Thank you for your wise and outspoken thoughts on urgent problems, and we hope we can continue to count on your kind of directions for our country's role in the world.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. ANNE ADATO.

BRUNSWICK, MAINE,  
August 20, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator of Oregon,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Although I frequently have the urge to write to a Senator, I rarely get around to do it. Your recent vote and statement in harmony with the honorable Senator from Alaska relative to our military activities in Vietnam I felt were expressions of a true statesman. I want to commend you on your wisdom and courage to express truth out on time when it is sorely needed.

It is my hope that you have received floods of letters expressing similar approval.

Sincerely,

MAURICE W. COBB.



AUGUST 12, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to let you know how grateful I am for your stand on Vietnam. I am sure you are right that the American people should take enough interest in what the United States does overseas, and accept the responsibilities as well as the rights of citizenship. All around me, I hear people say that it is none of my business, and the men in Washington know more about the problems than I do. True. But I certainly feel strongly about this particular situation, and wish I could do something to arouse from that comfortable and fatal lethargy.

Please keep it up, and let me know if there is any way in which I can help.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) PATRICIA MOCARSKY,

HARTSDALE, N.Y.,

August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your courageous stand against our involvement in southeast Asia. I strongly feel that many thousands of citizens feel the same way but lack the initiative to do something about it. An organization should be formed to combat this "butt-in" policy which has taken hold of our so called leaders to make commitments without the consent of the governed. It is high time that the power of the president to make such foreign commitments should be removed. There is no place in a democratic society for such a power which can involve a nation in war and then come and ask for a rubber stamp approval of the action.

Why don't you try to start a movement in this direction.

Very sincerely,

WM. F. STROBEL,

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to thank you for the vote which you cast in opposition to the Senate resolution giving President Johnson full wartime powers to deal with the situation in Vietnam.

I feel further, that the U.S. congressional bodies abdicated their responsibilities in this matter. It strikes one as strange that a relatively simple domestic matter can tie up the Congress for weeks and months, giving rise to thunderous oratory and the most acrimonious debate. Yet, on a matter of international policy of the most overwhelming complexity and the gravest danger—danger not only to the citizens of this country, but to the entire planet—our elected representatives have seen fit to deal away their responsibilities with apparently relieved cries of "patriotism" and "solidarity."

Your pronouncements on the policies of this Government in regard to the situation in Vietnam seem to me to be morally correct. I have heard citizens go on and on about national "honor". The word has become a cloak under which to hide the most insane of national actions. Nations, like individuals, are liable to make mistakes. Honor, among other things, involves the courage to recognize, admit, and correct those mistakes.

If I could believe that the South Vietnamese people wanted our intervention in their affairs—and I sometimes wonder why we do not hold a free election in South Vietnam to determine this point—I might find some justification for our presence there. Even then, I could find scant justification for involving ourselves in a war that cannot be won.

Again, my thanks to you, and to your colleague from Alaska, Senator GRUENING, who joined you in voting against this Senate resolution. You both have my deepest admiration.

Respectfully,

GEORGE E. CUYLER,

EAST NORWALK, CONN.,

August 11, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May we offer our strong support to you on the courageous stand which you have taken in the matter of the Vietnam war in general and the Tonkin Bay "incident" in particular. It was with a sense of shock and trepidation that we witnessed the President play his "deeply dangerous game" of attempting to out-Goldwater his opponent in the forthcoming election. Our chagrin was intensified as we saw the Congress place its predictable stamp of approval upon this completely unjustifiable and immoral action.

We applaud your position and respectfully urge you to continue to expose the facts in southeast Asia before the American public. Your statements constitute a fresh breeze of truth amid endless torrents of hot air and know-nothing clichés.

It is a temptation to move to Oregon just to support you and vote for you.

EMANUEL MARGOLIS.

ESTELLE MARGOLIS.

BEARSVILLE, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It isn't often that I write to some one in Washington, commending him for his nobility. (Washington is not the place to look for, or find nobility.) However, your exceptional stand, condemning the war in Vietnam and refusing to vote for its continuance deserves the thanks of all honest Americans. I hope you receive many, many letters approving of your outstanding performance today. Would that you were a Senator from New York. Then I could go to the polls and cast my vote for an honest man. (As it is, I never vote for anyone, other than our local townspeople—as town clerk, road commissioner, etc.)

I had just finished reading your excellent article in the Progressive—with which I fully agree. So it was not a complete surprise to hear over the radio of your dissenting vote. Yet, you could have lacked the integrity to obey your convictions. And you did not. Please accept my husband's and my deep appreciation for your courage and honesty.

Sincerely yours,

JO CANTINE.

P.S.—It is terrifying to think of the possible consequences of our State Department's policy. Indeed, I am seriously considering a change of citizenship. I am tired of being ashamed of my country's warlike behavior, while hypocritically proclaiming its devotion to peace. What are we doing in Vietnam anyway?

J.C.

CHICAGO, ILL.,

August 7, 1964.

HON. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I wish to thank you, as a fellow American of whom I am proud, for your sane stand against our aggressive warlike moves in southeast Asia. American policy in that area is not folly, it is madness.

It is a sad day for our great land when you are counted alone as the one voice of protest, but your words give hope to those people who have still maintained a sense of moral justice.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE W. HARTMAN.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I am thankful that there are at least two of you Senators who are trying to keep the peace by being peaceful. Who ever heard of such hypocrisy as proposing to keep the peace by waging war? They—the military and most politicians—think most of us are stupid—and evidently most of us are—perhaps too many are uninformed—so they keep up this ghastly farce—so let's get down to the business of letting peace break out in this world—but there is so much fear that our already shaky economy would collapse—has no one any faith in Man? I'd like to see what man can really do if he can get the monkeys (military and politicians) off his back—not just in the United States, but everywhere.

I am a longtime admirer of your senatorial behavior—wish we had more like you.

Kindly send me some copies from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of your remarks on Vietnam. I want to try to educate a few neighbors.

Cordially,

Mrs. VIRGINIA WILSON.

SAN FERNANDO, CALIF.

GRANADA HILLS, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept the sincere appreciation of at least one voter for your courageous stand on the recent events in Vietnam. Isolated as it may unfortunately be, it is nonetheless encouraging to hear at least one voice of reason from the babel of jingoism that seems to be official Washington today.

As a businessman, speaking French and Spanish in addition to English, and with many international contacts, I have been increasingly dismayed over the last decade in realizing the increasing distrust and suspicion with which our foreign policy is viewed abroad. Unfortunately I can only come to the conclusion that we will soon be as feared and hated throughout the world as the Nazis were in their day.

What appears to me as an ultimately self-defeating policy in southeast Asia may possibly have some justification that I fail to perceive, but I would suggest that even so any advantage here would be far outweighed by the negative impact this must have elsewhere in the world. My principal concern is with Latin America, where our support of the status-quo daily loses us more friends, and where our current southeast Asian policies will most certainly be considered fresh proofs of Uncle Sam's aggressiveness. Next month I will be in Mexico for several weeks, and I can already anticipate the arguments my Mexican friends will use to tear down any attempt on my part to defend our present actions.

If I recall correctly, Abraham Lincoln, then a Whig Member of Congress, opposed our participation in the Mexican War of 1848 and suffered cries of traitor. If American history books largely ignore this, Mexican history books most assuredly do not. The analogy is imperfect, but I trust that history books of the future will record your name in a column alongside the Lincolns, rather than with the Polks and their short-sighted modern descendants.

Sincerely,

EDWIN B. BROWN.

BOSTON, MASS.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE D. MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for having the courage to speak out so honestly and fearlessly concerning U.S. action in Vietnam.



I know that if citizens knew the truth and appreciated what has been going on there would be thousands more supporting your opinion. But, unfortunately, very few seem to understand our Government's position with regard to the Geneva Agreement and even though the Pentagon has admitted use of napalm bombs in South Vietnam, people shy away from believing it possible, and deny their responsibility for not protesting.

It is to be hoped that other Senators enlightened and encouraged by your stand for truth, will follow your example.

Gratefully,

DOROTHY A. HICKIE.

COLUMBUS, OHIO,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to voice my unqualified support of your stand on Vietnam. Your commitment to peace is, unfortunately, a lonely but inspiring stand.

Sincerely,

LUCY BUCHANAN.

WESTON, CONN.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We're not from Oregon but we say bravo for your courageous stand and vote of no on the resolution supporting President Johnson for his Vietnam actions.

Sincerely,

NAOMI and STANLEY BLEIFELD.

P.S.—We also agree on your position on foreign aid.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Mr. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

HONORABLE SIR: Your assessment of our predicament in the South Pacific area is 100-percent correct. If the rest of our elected lawmakers do not soon become more realistic and look the facts in the face, this Nation won't have a very promising future.

Your opinions on important matters often seem to be in minority in Washington.

The older I become the more I respect minority opinion because it is usually the studied opinion.

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. COOK.

ALLIANCE, OHIO.

P.S.—I like Senator FULBRIGHT too.

NORTHPORT, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.:

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have never before written a letter to a Congressman. Perhaps this is because I have never been moved to do so by my own representative's words or deeds.

But your speeches on Vietnam, and your position on our "brinkmanship" policy there makes me wish I were a resident of Oregon so I would have the honor of being represented in Congress by the only honest man in the entire hall of mirrors.

Thank goodness there are still men with the ability to see things as they really are. And with the courage to speak the truth—painful as that truth may be.

I assure you your voice is being heard, and your counsel respected by a growing number of Americans who don't like what is happening in Asia, and who desperately fear that a provocative and irresponsible foreign policy can plunge us into a nightmare from which we may never wake.

Congratulations on your courage and honesty and eloquence. You may stand alone in the U.S. Senate, but you are by no means alone in America.

Your most respectfully,

SANFORD WEISS.

JAMAICA, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We wish to express the greatest admiration and respect for you for the position you have taken in regard to our role in Vietnam.

Though you might seem to be the lone voice of sanity in Washington, you have a great deal of support from the American people.

We know that there is very little likelihood of a limited war today, and most important of all we feel that this problem must be negotiated through the United Nations. If we are really interested in maintaining peace and freedom in the world, we are surely doing exactly the opposite in Vietnam.

We wish you every success in your efforts for reason to prevail in Washington and Vietnam.

Respectfully,

ELEANOR KLEIN.  
KALMAN KLEIN.  
PETER KLEIN.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I want to commend you on your courageous stand on Vietnam. I have sent letters to Senators FULBRIGHT, KUCHEL, and SALINGER urging them to use their influence to see that the United States ceases unilateral action and uses the United Nations to settle problems between nations.

Thank you for being our conscience when madness is being masked as logic.

Sincerely yours,

MIRIAM NEWMAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: I and my family want to personally thank you for your brave, but unfortunately lonely stand, against enlarging the war in southeastern Asia.

I am afraid we have reached the point of no return by our latest actions in the bay of Tonkin. We are involved in a situation that will be worse than Korea with a tragic and fruitless outcome in death and destruction.

We pray for peace.

TOM SIEGEL AND FAMILY.

LAKESIDE, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am grateful for your present stand in regard to Vietnam.

I am truly hoping that negotiations will replace military might in settling the Asian problem.

Yours truly,

LILLIAN ALLEN.

VENICE, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Please accept my most profound thanks for your demonstration that at least 1 out of more than 500 supposed representatives of the American people has the courage to think twice about following the current stampede into war.

The phrase is constantly being used that "the United States will not stand idly by"—etc., etc. But to my stupefaction I see the American people standing idly by while the invisible government pushed them about like pawns on a chessboard. We who do not stand idly by when menaced by Pentagonomic atom-rattling constitute a small minority who

sorely need representation. You answer that need. Thank you.

PHILIP STEVENSON.

P.S.—I note that ex-President Eisenhower, who was instrumental in calling off the rape of Korea, has also withheld approbation of our hasty escalations in preparing for the worst.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Re Vietnam.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: Because of your interpretations of events I have written you several times to express encouragement, although I am aware that one who has arrived at the status you have disregards praise or blame and is only concerned with the issue at hand. However, perhaps at this juncture, the enthusiastic appreciation of those who read the real accounts of Vietnam will not come amiss.

Therefore, thank you deeply from our hearts for the position you have taken and we hope that you will be able to continue with many others impelled by your clear and reasonable statements to follow in your train.

Finally to say, we are terrifically troubled at our administration's movements and we fear another great war.

Sincerely,

RUTH COLBORN GRUMBINE.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish that I had the privilege of writing to you as a constituent. I have admired your dissent from U.S. policy in southeast Asia. Certainly your lone opposition to our latest action there, and the obfuscation and false righteousness surrounding it, is historic. It is difficult to see how we can demand peaceful settlements from other nations when we use power so nakedly ourselves. That at least one Senator has spoken out, salvages something from what some day—given a some day—will be our shame.

Very truly yours,

DANIEL PAPISH.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank God for Senators WAYNE MORSE and ERNEST GRUENING, who are willing to fight for the right even though they stand alone. As I have so many letters to write, will you please hand him this letter when you are through with it.

We are going to have world war three unless we do something about Khanh soon; so I am enclosing a copy of letter I sent to newspapers.

More power to the two of you.

W. ALBRECHT.

PUT KHANH IN JAIL

North Vietnam claims that several towns and two islands were bombed by us, giving the dates and hour. We claim we did not do it. Then who did?

Our Assistant Secretary of State, William Bundy, indicates that South Vietnam gunboats may have shelled the islands. This is just what Premier Khanh has been saying he would do—take the war up into North Vietnam, whether we liked it or not.

It was proper for us to try to destroy any attacking ships. But before visiting such terrible devastation on North Vietnam itself, wouldn't it have been better to investigate just why a little, weak, impotent nation would attack the mighty U.S. Navy? What's behind it all? North Vietnam claims there was no second attack.



Are we going to let Khanh lead us into world war three? He says his is a sovereign nation, and he has the right to do what he pleases. We don't give a darn about his sovereignty if it leads us into another war. Haven't we got the backbone to stop him? Put him into jail, if necessary, until the war is over, or the U.N. takes over.

From what I read, it seems we were a little trigger-happy as the second attack did not amount to much more than a row of pins. One torpedo passed within 300 feet of a destroyer; search lights were thrown on the destroyer; there was small gunfire.

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We commend very strongly your outspoken stand on the U.S. action of retaliation in North Vietnam. Please know that you speak for a great many very frustrated and anxious Americans.

We believe in recent times the South Vietnamese have had no choice as to governments; General Khanh is no better than Diem or Bao Dai. It is cruel deception to speak of defending freedom in this civil war.

Continue to use your good offices, your integrity in an unpopular but moral position, to press for an end to use of American lives and equipment and know-how to deal with this problem. I am writing my opinions also to President Johnson, and my Senators, urging that the issue be taken to the U.N. as it is the rightful concern of the world to achieve peaceful settlement.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANCES M. GOODMAN.

DUARTE, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: We saw you on CBS television tonight stating your position on South Vietnam and our fleet bombing North Vietnam.

We just want to put ourselves on record backing you up all the way. We fully agree with your views.

We regret there are not more like you. Our deepest thanks and appreciation for representing us, small as it may be. At times like this a man may stand alone, but tall.

How Christian can we get, Senator, using the name of God, not His law?

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. JOHN ZABBY.

WOODLAND, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I trust you will not consider it presumptuous of me to say how highly I regard your stand in the U.S. Senate in challenging U.S. policy in southeast Asia and particularly in Vietnam.

I speak out of my birth in China and from knowledge acquired during a residence of some 50 years in the Far East. Incidentally, you may remember my very brief appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee inquiry into foreign aid in my capacity as cofounder and cochairman of the Committee for a Review of Our China Policy.

I was again reminded of my duty to tell you that you are not alone—although it might almost seem so—in challenging much of the basic ingredients of our Asian policy insofar as it falls to measure up to true American standards of political morality and international good faith, and as it is characterized by a lack of historical understand-

ing and genuine political realism. The further reminder came as I saw you speak on television last night, in singlehandedly (so far as official legislative expression was concerned) questioning the "provocative" nature of American actions and attributing responsibility to those actions in creating the present highly dangerous American relationship with North Vietnam and with its many supporter nations.

I could join with you in enumerating—as you have done in many speeches in the Senate—the all too many aspects of our actions in the Far East which are a betrayal of the best in American standards of international relationships. I have some qualifications to do this, since I have been a lifetime student of China's political evolution and of the West's relationships with the Far East. You need hardly be assured that the most qualified, as the most intellectually and morally honest, authorities in history and political science support the essential assumptions upon which your viewpoints are based.

It is my very deepest hope, sir, that you will maintain your present courageous confidence that you are "right"—right in the best interests of world peace and mankind at large, and, therefore, right because it follows you are serving the truly best interests of the country which you serve in such intelligent, honest, and moral patriotism—our own United States of America.

With my highest appreciation and my very best wishes, I am, dear Senator MORSE,

Respectfully yours,

ERNEST T. NASH.

MUNICH, GERMANY,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon.

DEAR SIR: I wish to express my deep admiration for your courageous stand on the current southeast Asia situation. Also your past record in the public service of our country is something to be proud of. I wish we had more men like you in Congress.

Respectfully yours,

BERNARD NIED,  
Captain, U.S. Air Force (Retired).

DURHAM, N.C.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This note is merely to indicate my warm support for your position as regards the current crisis in southeast Asia. I truly regret that I am not able to cast a vote for you.

Sincerely,

PETER H. KLOPPER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Again yours is a voice crying in the wilderness. And again I thank you from the bottom of my heart. If there are history books for our grandchildren (children) to read your name will be among the heroes, and I wish you would run for President with, maybe, Linus Pauling for Vice President. I simply cannot see how I or other mothers and human beings devoted to preservation of young lives can vote for a brinkman candidate.

When I try to imagine what a good life could be provided for all the thousands of our people now existing in desperate poverty, if the money spent on worse-than-useless armaments was put to good social uses, well I can't quite imagine, but I know that this school nurse would not walk around the school yard seeing hungry kids. For my part I'd rather see every youth get the best education that a Robert Hutchins can dream up than to know how many and how deep are the craters of the moon.

Again, my thanks for your continued voice against war. Pray keep it up.

Most respectfully,

Mrs. A. T. REED.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for standing for international morality on the floor of the United States. Never was it in greater need of such a stand.

Gratefully yours,

ARTHUR AND HELEN BERTHOLF.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I wish to express my admiration for your courage in opposing the war in Vietnam. Your voice in the Senate calling for negotiations instead of gun fighting was loud and clear.

You have the support in this matter of many friends and neighbors. I look forward to your speaking again on this question in the future.

Respectfully,

Mrs. A. CITRON.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for the specific details of your thoughts in exacting words describing your evaluation of the Far East crisis of August 5. I concur with you, believing that you have expressed the mature mind of Jesus Christ, not as a child, but as one who has put away the childish things of first speaking, then thinking and understanding later. For with all my heart as a citizen of the United States of America I believe your words to be the true sonship of your fathered thoughts of understanding, making you a true son of God, joint heir with truth and true freedom. Thank God for men who will think and understand and then speak the convictions that two wrongs do not make a right.

Sincerely,

C. T. FALLGREN, JR.

P.S.—I would greatly appreciate your acknowledgment of this letter.

CROTON-ON-HUDSON, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We want to commend you for the courage, integrity, and intelligence you showed in your stand against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, North and South. Many, many people support your position—all honest people who understand and oppose the implications of having American Armed Forces in southeast Asia—and we hope that they will all tell you, and President Johnson, what they think.

Our most sincere thanks.

VICTOR AND ELLEN PERLO.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to congratulate and thank you for being the only Member of the whole Congress, apparently, to protest the action of our President and country in Vietnam this week. Don't Congressmen ever read or inform themselves on anything except the price of crops—here in Wyoming it is cattle, wool and oil—or what their poorly informed constituents think they want? You are the only man in Congress that approaches the vision of some of the men that Mr. Kennedy wrote about in his "Profiles of Courage." I know it is politi-



cally expedient and practically necessary for a Senator like FULBRIGHT to vote against civil rights; and for Mr. McGEE to fight to preserve the 27-percent oil depletion allowance; and for Mr. HUMPHREY to keep his eyes fixed on the milling, agricultural and mining interests of Minnesota; but where is our beloved country heading when there is no one who really considers the whole country and its relation to the whole world in the light of the reality of the present, and the future?

My husband and I subscribe to and read: Atlantic, Harper's, the Progressive, I. F. Stone's Weekly, the Independent, Atlas, the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Saturday Review, and the Saturday Evening Post, besides the National Geographic and National Wildlife, Wyoming Wildlife, and my organizational teachers' magazines. We also read and buy books and are, at least amateur, students of history. But I am afraid to write a political letter to the people to be published in the local paper. I am a second-grade teacher with only 2 years to retirement, and we have 2 sons, one 22, married and on his own, but he and his wife both start college again this fall; our youngest son is 16 and starts his senior year at high school in the fall. I have only been a teacher for the last 8 years, qualifying in Wyoming; but I graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1927 from SLA, major English and minor sociology. My husband is physically unfit to work at any protracted heavy work—he has been a salesman and carpenter and constructor; so I started teaching. Mr. McGEE is completely correct in stating that Wyoming is rife with John Birchers, even the educated here are politically ignorant and our local press is rabidly rightwing Republican—our columnists are De Toledano, Holmes Alexander, Lyle Wilson, etc. UPI seems to be the only news service they use now. Being the only support of my family, paying on a mortgage—my husband only finished our house last year—for 14 years I lived here with only cold running water and no sink—for the sake of some independence in our old age and to at least see our youngest boy into college, I feel I must keep my mouth shut. Is that not shameful in this country?

But I got angry. I am not the only one who listened to Mr. GOLDWATER's acceptance speech and was reminded of the beginnings of Hitler. How many Congressmen have even read Shirer's "Rise and Fall of the Third Reich"? I do not accuse Senator GOLDWATER of being a Hitler; but fundamentally he is not an intelligent or informed man, and he may have hold of the tail of a tiger. I do not like his German acquaintances, nor his following in this country. Neither do I trust the military-industrial complex we now have. I admire Mr. McGEE for cosponsoring a bill to try to work out changeover to a peace economy; it should have been done long ago. I do not trust or admire the FBI, particularly those who work in the South. I do not like or admire Robert Kennedy; it was with reluctance that I voted for President Kennedy last time, but he did better than I thought he would. Robert is not his equal. I do not trust Germany, either East or West. I hope the Labor Party wins in England this year. I do not think Russia wants war; and she won more by backing down in the Cuba confrontation than we did. We have been stupid in our Cuban policy from the beginning; and most of Latin America sees our Alliance for Progress as another boondoggle for the rich, as is our foreign aid, which is chiefly military anyway. The Peace Corps has been fine, but I would hate to try to explain to foreigners our alliances with dictators in Spain, Portugal, and Latin America and our dear old friend, Chiang Kai-shek, whom the people of Formosa hate, as do the people of Iwo Jima, for instance, hate us,

as represented by our Army. We helped Pakistan against India; made an enemy out of Nasser so we have no influence over him in his Arab campaign against Israel now. And there are probably a hundred more things I could mention.

In conclusion, if President Johnson feels he must go aggressive and to the right, to meet GOLDWATER, I see no point in voting nationally this year at all. I will vote on the State level, but unless Johnson changes his course—and I've heard others say that this week, only they will vote for GOLDWATER—I am not going to vote for him. He has GOLDWATER's approval, not mine; nor some others of my friends and relatives. I even have some Unitarian friends in Texas. To call shelling mainland villages self-defense is ridiculous and an insult to anyone of intelligence. We have violated League of Nations rules, the treaty of 1954, and any other number of things as you have stated. In 1956 the Committee of the United Nations reported both North and South Vietnam had violated borders and the treaty, and then we started helping.

I apologize for the length of this. I have written as a friend, for you have often spoken for me. I have greatly admired your courage ever since you left the Republican Party, which was an act of courage. Stevenson has been a disappointment to me—and I voted for him twice. Thank you again.

With every good wish,  
Sincerely yours,

MARIAN McMUNN NILSON.

Copies to: Senator Humphrey, McGee, the President, and my son Eric in California.

EAST STROUDSBURG, PA.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This letter relates to your views on the bombing of North Vietnamese installations by the Air Force this week.

In the reckless atmosphere of the past few days, your voice has been one of the few which demonstrated statesmanship and level-headedness.

You have probably been much abused for your statements. This letter is written simply to help give you a little moral support.  
Respectfully,

R. HELFFRICH.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In view of the recent expansion of the war in southeast Asia, I feel compelled to write to let you know of my warm support for your opposition to the war in Vietnam. I'm afraid that too often a person like myself applaud silently when we should let our voices be heard. I feel confident that you will speak out even more forcefully now that we have taken the recent aggressive—and suicidal—steps against North Vietnam. Rest assured that there are many who are grateful to you for your courage in speaking out.

I want you to know that I am writing my representatives, Senator CLARK, Senator SCOTT, and Representative BARRETT, asking them to oppose the resolution proposed by President Johnson, and asking them to support you in opposing the war in Vietnam.  
Sincerely,

JULIA B. BLOCH.

NORTH CHEVY CHASE, MD.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Oregonians can again take satisfaction in having sent to the Senate a man who thinks for himself, and

who places conscience above party and the welfare of men above narrow nationalism. Congratulations on your independent stand on the issue of our bombings in North Vietnam.

Cordially,

ROBERT O. LINK.

DETROIT, MICH.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I want to express my gratitude for your courageous stand against the present Government policy in southeast Asia.

Yours is the only voice in Congress that speaks out against following a course which could result in a nuclear war.

In your defense of peace, I feel certain you express the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. IDA OLSHANSKY.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I was so glad to hear your statements about the attacks on the Vietnamese. We support your statements and congratulate your courage. We need more of your caliber in our Government. Sometimes I think we should move to Oregon instead of trying to fight the current here in Los Angeles.

Please continue this type of work. We support you all the way.

Mr. and Mrs. RAY BUSSEY.

MARION, IOWA,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to congratulate you for not supporting the resolution concerning Vietnam. It all looks like this is the beginning of nuclear world war III, and the next move will be to go into China. This country is flitting away its resources on nothing.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

IRENE J. COOMBS.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: As one who believes you are doing a job in the Senate for the American people—and a damned good one—I am moved to write these lines in appreciation of what I believe is your sensible and wise stand on so many issues.

I have just finished listening to the WCBSTV 1 p.m. Saturday news and I am rather incensed at Martin Agronsky's scurrilous remarks about you—at least your hewing to the line and crusading courage for what you believe to be right and just—these admirable traits of yours were presented in a rather contemptuous light.

My feeling is that more "Morse-men" in the Senate and a corresponding reduction of "political hacks" would be very salutary, indeed.

Please keep up the good fight, W. M., and more power to you.

Sincerely in appreciation,

STANLEY CRABTREE.

SOMERSET, N.J.  
Copy to CBS.

WILLOW RIVER, MINN.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: We are very happy to hear that there is one Senator who is man enough



to say what he knows is right. More power to you. We also heard that Senator GRUENING, of Alaska, voted as you did, so we have two brave men in Washington, D.C. We feel as you do about Vietnam. Good luck and take good care of yourself. We need men like you.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. A. E. BORCHARDT.

WILLIAMSPORT, PA.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I admire your courageous stand on the Vietnam issue.

I am happy to know that there are two men in the Senate who represent the American people and are not rubberstamps for a reactionary leadership.

I wish to thank you for your warning to the Americans that their rights and freedoms are being threatened by the actions of the House and Senate in giving Johnson a free hand in going to war without a declaration of war.

Yours truly,

Mrs. ANNIE E. AULT.

VINELAND, N.J.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator of Oregon,  
Senate Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: On behalf of many of my friends and clients I wish to express to you my deepest appreciation for the courageous stand which you have taken during the present crisis in southeast Asia.

It is regrettable that only you and Senator GRUENING have taken a sane and legally justifiable attitude in this dangerous situation and we are proud to have had you and Senator GRUENING as speakers during the past Israeli bond drives in Vineland.

We would like to see the day when your politics will be shared by the majority.

Respectfully,

RUDOLPH HEARNS.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your honesty and courage in speaking for peace. I have written to the President urging negotiations rather than warfare over the conflict in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

EDMOND S. HARRIS.

COLUMBUS, OHIO,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wholly appreciate and support your efforts to stop the U.S. action (toward all-out war) in Asia, specifically South Vietnam.

It is necessary to repeat time and again that the United States has no business supporting civil strife as we are doing in Vietnam.

Please continue to urge your fellow colleagues in the Senate to get out of Vietnam as well as informing your fellow countrymen, the unhappy truth—we are acting as a "protector."

Most respectfully,

DONNA CHILDERS.

AUGUST 10, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: So much of my time is spent reacting negatively to political

figures and acts that, to prevent growing into a perpetual soupstew, I must send someone a "Bravo." And there is no one in Washington—or probably everywhere else in the world—more deserving of such than yourself. Your unrelenting criticism of the war in Vietnam and the military emphasis of foreign aid are putting the brakes on my growing antistatism.

Of course, I wired the President last week on his address to the Nation on Vietnam. I would wire you, too, but I'm sure you would rather I spent my money on more "No" telegrams.

Enthusiastically yours,

IGAL ROODENKO.

IRON MOUNTAIN, MICH.,  
August 10, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I feel an obligation to be counted as one in deep appreciation for your stand on Vietnam.

Thank you.

Mrs. ENID AVENT.

CLEVELAND, OHIO,  
August 9, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We have just completed your excellent article, "Humpty Dumpty in Vietnam," in the August issue of the Progressive. Unfortunately, this article will have limited circulation. Your objections on the floor of the Senate to extending the conflict in Vietnam are truly commendable, though you'll probably get very little reinforcement for your efforts at this time.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD M. MCPHERSON.  
SANDRA B. MCPHERSON.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: Although not one of your constituents, I feel I must write and congratulate you on your wisdom and courage in your stand on our position in Vietnam.

For years I have wondered why we interfered there in the first place, and why we persisted in an effort that not only was none of our business but not even welcomed or appreciated—or, in many cases, not even tolerated—by the people of South Vietnam; people much more concerned with their need for food and shelter than with the freedom which to them is a mere theoretical abstraction. To me, it was just another Eisenhower-Nixon-Dulles blunder—in their arrogant determination to make the world over in the image of America, and to get more votes from the simple minded. This sort of arrogance is, to me, against all the laws of God and humanity. If we believe—as we self-righteously claim—in self-determination, then why do we not practice what we preach. Heaven knows—we have enough problems on our own doorstep.

Our beloved President Kennedy, I am confident, would have corrected many of the Eisenhower-Nixon blunders, and refused to be drawn into the trap they set for him in the Bay of Pigs affair, had it not been for their continuous and ridiculous contentions that he was elected by only a hair's margin—a myth if ever there was one—considering all that he had against him in religious prejudice.

For at least one voice "crying in the wilderness" I am thankful—so, again, my congratulations and best wishes.

Sincerely,

EDYTH K. ZIEGLER.

FISK MEMORIAL METHODIST CHURCH,  
Natick, Mass., August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: As a registered voter in Massachusetts I commend the position you have taken in discouraging the escalating of war in southeast Asia, and have written to President Johnson and Senators KENNEDY and SALTONSTALL supporting your stand. I deeply regret the limited publicity which has been given to your sane approach to the problem.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. LIKINS, Th. D.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.,  
August 10, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator from Oregon,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I live in a different State from you, but cannot forbear saying how much I appreciate and admire your standing all alone in this terrible business of the bombing of North Vietnam. I cannot understand Mr. Johnson's eagerness; the crisis was past; the ships had gone on their way; nobody had been killed; investigation should precede action; one wonders what was the role of the CIA in the matter. The U.S. Senate is supposed to be the greatest deliberative body in the world; on civil rights or education it deliberates endlessly, but agreement to bomb civilians to death in an undeclared war requires no deliberation.

And hence my admiration.

Sincerely,

HARRIETTE SIMPSON ARNOW.

VERNON, N.J.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: A day last week I watched, listened, deeply moved while you were let speak, and wished other and younger Senators were standing beside you, and missed Senator GRUENING. True, Ibsen said, "A man is strongest when he stands most alone." You spoke with such wisdom and courage and you spoke for the many of us who think as you do but speak only among ourselves and are without authority. I believe that should the question be added to our ballot in this coming election: "Should our Armed Forces be in Vietnam?" the majority of the voters of this country would check "No" and those who would mark "Yes" would for the most part mark it thinking "As all but the one of our Senators are voting for it, they must know something they think it unwise to tell us."

A friend just returned from a couple of months' travel in Europe to tell me that everywhere the people are deeply concerned, anxious over our seeming indifference to the likely results to them, and to the whole world from our war-risking policy in Asia.

I was gratified to read in yesterday's New York Times's letters a long letter by a judge who thinks as you do and quotes you and Senator GRUENING. We see all too little mention of your views and his and that little likely to be in derision. This man is so right in saying that we cannot predict the reactions of other nations. The best and the worst of life is its surprises, plan how we may. We are not young, but many who stand to suffer from any bombing done are young, and they have their right not to be robbed of their chance of growing up and of growing old, at least not robbed by us, from our side the world, because of our surmises as to what the threats of communism are for them or for the whole of Asia. "Why ask the night before the darkness comes?"

I write only to say "courage"—and to ask that you get up early all the mornings, from



now on, write, so that we can read your history in the Senate, know your views and share your vision, in a book, in articles, in letters to the papers. It is so sobering to think that, if we persist in our military-minded aim, that can be so quick and far-reaching and ruinous, decisions, steps and retaliations could come that could wipe out nations before this letter comes to your desk, making all that you say treasonous, me suspect, and the few left, unhappy and terribly afraid. May you be free to say your say, next week, next congressional term, and for a long time. And may you not always have to stand so alone.

Sincerely yours,

DOROTHY T. BUICKEROOD  
Mrs. John W. Bulckerood.

UNION CITY, N.J.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to express my appreciation for your stand on Vietnam.

Very truly yours,

IRVING M. WOLFE.

PONSOLLE MANUFACTURING CO.,

Long Island City, N.Y., August 11, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your courageous stand against the Pentagon's decision to make a brutal attack against a defenseless small country like South Vietnam is mighty gratifying.

We in the United States need more honest acting minds like you to get us out of this morass of decadence, of violent, arrogant brutality against humanity. The peoples of the world condemn the U.S. Government's murderous action.

Anyone with religious convictions and mainly with a bit of political knowledge knows that France couldn't hold on to its \$500 million plundering adventure in Indochina and now the American monopolists want to grab it.

The people of southeast Asia will defeat us just as the French imperialists were defeated.

Let us not sacrifice more young American lives and innocent Vietnamese people.

Our hearts go to you, Senator MORSE, to encourage you in your battle against deception by our Government.

Yours sincerely,

CONSTANT PONSOLLE.

WOODMONT, CONN.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am heartened by your conviction and courage concerning U.S. action in Vietnam. I am dismayed that our Congress sees right in might, when the same actions applied to other nations would almost certainly be considered as naked aggression. Such action as we have taken weakens our position in the world to stand for the interests of the vast majority of the people. Here we have allowed the powerful pressures of a small American segment to short circuit the cause of peace, international law, and moral considerations. Keep up your fight and let the American people know the whole truth; if the daily press will not print it, I am sure that there are presses that will.

Yours sincerely,

DEL EBERHARDT.

KENT, CONN.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Although I am not one of your constituents, I want you to know

that I approve of and admire your efforts, as reported last week over the radio and in the New York Times, to present another side of what President Johnson claimed was an "unprovoked attack" on one of our warships in the Gulf of Tonkin.

I realize that you have been making speeches about Vietnam to your fellow Senators for 5 months or so, and that the newspapers have not publicized these speeches, because for some reason they are afraid to print your criticism of our behavior in southeast Asia. It might be well for more of the American people to hear your views, and last week a few more may have begun to listen.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN BREASTED.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your patriotism in standing firm for your convictions on Vietnam. I don't know yet just what you said because I have not yet read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, but I am sure in the light of what you have said before, that your speech was strong and correct.

Yours sincerely,

CLARK FOREMAN.

PORTABLE GALLERY COLOR SLIDES,  
New York, N.Y., August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have read with great interest your excellent and, regrettably, minority campaign against our policies in southeast Asia. It was clear from the beginning that it was to be a losing battle, but thank you for trying.

Yours sincerely,

ALBERT VANDERBURG, Jr.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE,  
Davidson, N.C., August 11, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I have just finished reading the speech you delivered against Senate Joint Resolution 189 as reported in the August 5 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I wish to associate myself with the position you take therein in regard to the situation in southeast Asia and to congratulate you on your courage. You have been, in my opinion, the most consistent, constant, and able defender of justice, freedom, and democracy in the U.S. Congress, and your presence in Congress brings credit to and respect for the entire country. May the voters of Oregon keep you in the Senate as long as you are able to speak.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of a letter I wrote to the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer. A greatly emasculated version was printed therein a couple of days ago.

With best wishes and highest regards to you, I am,

Yours faithfully,

E. F. PATTERSON,  
Associate Professor.

JULY 28, 1964.

EDITOR,  
The Charlotte Observer,  
Charlotte, N.C.

DEAR SIR: The problem facing the United States in southeast Asia today is the same one which faced France 10 years ago; i.e., how to end a war which is no longer winnable (if it ever was) without destroying all hope for the future.

The Mendes-France government, which was ruling France 10 years ago, found an

answer to the problem; namely, negotiate with those you are fighting—not with your puppets; and when that is done, make a fresh start to remove the bitterness left by the war. The Mendes-France government did not survive long enough to finish this ambitious task—its demise was not connected with its solution to the problem in southeast Asia. But it began the task with such obvious good faith that the ground was laid for the present-day popularity of the French in Laos, Cambodia, and the two Vietnams.

Because of this popularity, French journalists are better received in that area than journalists of other countries and are the best informed reporters in the world about the situation there. The reports they are publishing in such responsible non-Communist French newspapers as *Le Monde* and *France-Soir* are completely different from those which appear in the U.S. newspapers. The reports all indicate that Mendes-France's 1954 solution is today, as it was then, the most likely to produce results that will benefit both the United States and the unhappy Vietnamese.

A report from one of these reporters was published in the June 27, *London Economist*. The reporter made the following observations:

"Probably a truly free vote would show that the great majority of the (South) Vietnamese want two things—peace and independence both from the Americans and the North Vietnam. But even then it would not be possible to ignore the problem posed by the Vietcong, with its roots stretching everywhere, its cadres who are the most honest and energetic in the country, and above all its formidable army. The only question is whether it can be crushed—as the Americans have so far vainly tried to do—or tamed by being brought into the open, in political and parliamentary terms, with all that that implies, in particular, in terms of a Socialist-run economy.

"The more time passes, the harder it becomes to ignore this second possibility, little as it cheers anyone in the West. The Americans are trying to bolt the frontiers and cut off northern aid. This is what the French did on the frontiers of Algeria, but with no success, because the conflict was in the first place an internal one. To threaten Peiping with reprisals is of no use when the sources of the civil war lie in South Vietnam itself.

"From numerous conversations with leaders in North Vietnam and the Vietcong—this correspondent is convinced that it would be an error for the West to look for a solution in Peiping. To deal with the Chinese as if they were already masters of Vietnam would be to pull the rug from under the feet of the Vietnamese in Hanoi and the underground, who are strongly nationalist in their outlook. The consent of Mr. Mao Tse-tung would be necessary. But first one must negotiate with the Vietnamese themselves.

The fact is that there are American troops in South Vietnam today, but not Chinese ones, and if the South Vietnamese have no stomach for the fight with their brothers in the Vietcong, it will be very hard to screw them up to a more combative spirit. Vietnamese affairs are, after all, those of the Vietnamese more than of America or China. The day General Khanh wishes to deal with his Communist compatriots he will not need a go-between; his own brother is a high official in Hanoi controlling North Vietnamese industry. Most of the families of this unhappy country are similarly divided, with members on both sides.

All this is, of course, highly disturbing to most Americans, but it is the same hard, unvarnished truth which Senators MORSE and GRUENING have been speaking on the floor of the Senate for several months, speeches that have gone largely unreported in the daily press, and it is the truth which we must



come to accept and act on immediately. It should be noted, parenthetically, that only if Senator GOLDWATER is defeated decisively in November will it even be possible to begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from the impossible predicament in southeast Asia in a way that will bring honor to and respect and good will for the United States.

Yours faithfully,

E. F. PATTERSON,  
Associate Professor.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: For your courageous action in questioning our policy in Vietnam and in withholding approval of the President's actions in the recent crisis there. I wish my Senator had as much courage.

Yours truly,

MARY DWYER.

P.S.—No need to reply to this note.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to express my deep admiration for your courage in taking a stand against what many people believe to be a preliminary step in the preparation for an extended land war in Asia. It is due to your courage, dedication to freedom and democracy, and tenacity in searching out facts that the realities of southeast Asia are coming to light. Your job is and will be a lonely one with little consolation from those quarters that should be most thankful. Nevertheless, I know you realize that you are performing an essential and crucial function that in the long run will not go unappreciated.

Fifteen years of the cold war have reduced our flexibility to respond to new situations. Too many people look at the world as a struggle between the forces of good and evil with unchanging truths and grand alternatives. This picture is not accurate, especially in southeast Asia and unless we begin to face this fact, we are in for serious trouble which can only culminate in defeat for all.

With profound gratitude,

ROBERT FRIEDMAN.

WARD, COLO.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to congratulate you on the stand you took this week in the Senate in opposing the administration's policy in the Vietnam crisis.

You may be interested in the letter on this subject which I am sending to President Johnson. I enclose a copy.

Respectfully yours,

DOROTHY T. MAXWELL.

WARD, COLO.,  
August 8, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: I am writing to object to U.S. policy in Vietnam. I consider that the present crisis has been brought on by our country's military intervention in South Vietnam, which from the beginning has been in abrogation of our pledge not to violate the Geneva accords. I feel that the public has been misinformed concerning this, and other matters relating to Vietnam. Further, I think it very wrong that the Central Intelligence Agency should have the power of creating foreign policy, for example, by machinations aimed at overthrowing governments.

It is time that the people and Government of the United States realize that the world is not going to be won for democracy by military support of undemocratic govern-

ments—or by any kind of military action. The spread of democracy will take place on an entirely different plane.

In the present crisis it is my belief that the matter should be referred to another Geneva Conference on southeast Asia. This should be followed, or accompanied, by immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and the support of plans for the neutralization and independence of the Indochinese states.

Respectfully yours,

DOROTHY T. MAXWELL.

ANTWERP, OHIO.

DEAR FRIENDS: I don't know if you will even receive this or not. Saw in the morning news that there is someone down there thinking about our sons, and felt like shouting and praising God. The prestige of the United States don't seem to mean so much to mothers who have only one son left at home, no husband, and only one son besides.

I have always bene brought up to be a stinking Republican (that is I dared not vote for a Democrat or be disgraced) but I love anybody who will try to protect our boys from this terrible conflict that goes on abroad so thank you and may God help us.

Mrs. GOLDIE GETROST.

ROCKVILLE CENTER, N.Y.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORRIS,  
The U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I most heartily commend you for your forthright stand against President Johnson's handling of the Vietnam crisis. I hope that your independent and clear thinking and your courage to express it will give heart to others to do the same.

Most respectfully,

ENLA R. KIELTY.

ORANGE, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is with a great deal of sadness that we learned that only two Senators and no Representatives had the courage and wisdom to vote against the support of action of the President in the recent Vietnam situation.

We wish to congratulate you on your stand this past week and your stand as you have tried to explain it and express it in recent months. We agree with your reasons and hope you will continue to speak out for a wiser southeast Asian policy as the facts become known to you.

Sincerely,

PAUL E. KILLINGER,  
LORETTA KILLINGER.

HOPKINS, MINN.,  
August 9, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It took courage to be only one of two members of the Senate to vote against the joint resolution. I wish to congratulate you and Senator Gruening on your vote and the reasoning behind it.

The Minneapolis Tribune today had an editorial which stated that, maybe, the North Vietnam attack was not without provocation. Are we being told the truth? The U-2 incident is still fresh in my mind. The Turkish Vice Premier denied the attack on Cyprus by Turkish planes and was caught lying. Must international politics be a mass of lies? If we are to keep the peace, we should try to be honest too. I, as much as anyone, would like the southeast Asia situation resolved in our favor but this type of 18th century swashbuckling can lead to com-

plications notwithstanding the government's cry of self-righteous indignation at being attacked without provocation.

Sincerely yours,

DR. PAUL SLATON.

Copy to Senator HUMPHREY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend your statement about our position in Vietnam.

It is very frightening to all of us because a limited war is so easily turned it into an unlimited one.

It is time for the United Nations to step in and the United States to step out.

Sincerely,

LIBBIE ROSENBLATT.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I admire and applaud your courage in calling for reason in southeast Asia amid cries for "national unity." Since your speech was poorly reported, could you send me a copy of your speech against Johnson's resolution on Vietnam made August 7, 1964.

Thank you.

JOHN P. BOYD.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator, Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend you on your opposition to our involvement in southeast Asia and specifically in South Vietnam.

Though not one of your constituents, in a sense you represent all of us Americans who deplore our men being killed, but not in defense of our country, and in turn serving to kill even greater numbers of Asians in what is essentially a civil war.

I hope your being in a tiny minority in the Senate will not discourage you in maintaining your position. The men we expend and the treasure we spend in this so-called "police action" in defense of what we call "freedom" could be better used at home.

With admiration and respect.

ABRAHAM S. ROSENTHAL.

QUEENS, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your courageous stand against U.S. war policies in Vietnam. I managed to hear about your recent speech despite the blackout by the popular mass media. Please continue to speak out for peace, and keep telling the American people the truth. The present situation in this country is ominously like that of Germany just before Hitler took over.

Please send me your speeches in the international situation that are available. Again, thank you for being one of the few lone voices for the truth in this country.

Sincerely,

BEATRICE BOYER.

LOS ANGELES,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to commend you on your statement you made about North Vietnam. I, myself, have not been able to understand what we are doing there. It seems to me that we have no right



there, that this situation should be handled by the U.N.

Please keep up the good work. I for one am glad that you are in the Senate and you are as honest and forthright.

Yours truly,

GERTRUDE SHRIVER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Chambers,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We are in full support of your position on Vietnam and your vote in the Senate. How we wish you represented California.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. JOHN THORNE.

CHEYENNE WELLS, COLO.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I want to congratulate you and the Senator from Alaska for your courage and foresight in voting against the resolution giving the President the power to wage war without the consent of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Senator, for the life of me I can't see where we are accomplishing anything meddling in the troubles of other nations. All I can do is lead us into another big war. I just heard a news broadcast that Turkey is invading Cyprus. What kind of commitments will this bring us into? Will this and the trouble in Asia draw us into the third World War? I believe you will agree with me that South Korea and South Vietnam are dictatorships. That their governments are. I am a veteran of the 1st World War and I believe firmly in our form of Government but I do believe that we should bring all of our boys home and let these foreign countries settle their own troubles. I sometimes wonder as I have heard others remark that we are getting to be the most hated Nation in the world. I hope you won't mind when I say in also sincerity, we need more men of your courage and character in public office. I remain,

Yours very truly,

L. W. KLIESEN.

FLUSHING, N.Y.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: As a thinking United States citizen, I wish to congratulate you for your intelligent stand and comments on the Vietnam situation. Thank you, too, for the amendments you offered to the foreign aid bill, some of which the Senate adopted (as reported in today's Times).

It is only unfortunate that we do not have more men of your caliber in our Government today.

Please have the courage to carry on your good work.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. MATTHEW ALTSCHULER.

MADISON, WIS.,  
August 11, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: To my great regret I am not a constituent of yours, but nonetheless, since I am a U.S. citizen and since you are a U.S. Senator, may I commend you for your courageous compelling, and highly rational stand on the Vietnam issue. At least there is one person in high places who is talking some sense and who can see that our hands are just as dirty as our adversaries. I fail to see how we can really expect anyone to believe us or in our ideals if we do not move towards

achieving at least a few of them. Freedom is not "being just like me". It is being free to choose, to accept or reject.

I hope your constituents support your positive and forthright stand and I hope all of us may look forward to seeing more of your rationality pour forth from the morass of nonsequiturs that surround Vietnam and other critical issues.

I would also like to express appreciation for your article in the August copy of the Progressive. I hope we will be seeing more articles from you.

May I obtain from your office a copy of the pamphlet entitled "Foreign Assistance Act of 1964—Individual Views of Senator Morse on H.R. 11380" or if not could you tell me where I can obtain a copy? Thank you.

Sincerely,

TERRY A. RHODES.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 12, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Yours is the only sane voice I have heard amongst the hysterical babble about "defense" in Vietnam. Defense of what? Certainly not of the United States. As for defense of an ideology (if that is supposed to be the reason we are creating, abetting, or encouraging war there) an ideology cannot be foisted on people by force of arms.

What a hellishly dangerous game the United States is playing. You must feel lonely now, but I believe yours is the word of truth amid insanity.

Sincerely yours,

ODELL PRATHER.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The apparently unpopular position taken by you during the Vietnam conflict of August 4, 1964, has compelled my husband and me to acknowledge our support of your pronouncement.

Too many details have remained unexplained and too many questions have gone unanswered to expect unconditional acceptance of these recent events. The latest affair in the Gulf of Tonkin has taxed our sense of logic, to say the least, and we have uncomfortably discovered that simple blind faith is no longer tenable.

Your call for a moral renaissance may be ignored by the consciousness, but for a few it remains an eternal hope.

Very truly yours,

MACLYN BARKUS.

MAXWELL, N. MEX.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a note to congratulate you on your recent speech in the Senate relative to Vietnam. Of course, your consistent opposition to the official policies pursued in the Vietnam area is to be lauded. It is unfortunate that more of our Congressmen do not see the light in this and other foreign areas—even though the administration doesn't.

FRANK BROOKSHIRE.

JULY 12, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing you to thank you for your viewpoint regarding Vietnam.

I would like to request that you discuss with the President the possibility of a peaceful negotiation regarding Vietnam.

I heard the assistant to the Secretary of State, Mr. Sullivan speak—as he put it in a sanctimonious church gathering—regarding Vietnam, and might I remind you that after hearing him talk, that the facts were greatly distorted.

I am shocked to hear the discussions amongst officers and enlightened men regarding the situation and all statements in regards to war.

I wish you would do all you can possibly do for a better understanding of this vital situation.

I remain,

Thanking you,

STEWART D. SMILEY.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 2, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Thank you for a voice of sanity among the pusillanimous during this Asian crisis.

I pray that one strong man can make a majority.

You are helping to preserve the fairness of our Nation's name, in a time when it is being besmirched by many men in high places.

Sincerely,

M. KELLIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It was encouraging, indeed, to hear your voice, and that of Senator GRUENING, raised against our dangerous policies and actions in Vietnam. The "movement to the right" of our administration is alarming. It is a mighty contribution to our country to have a few voices like yours speaking out against the panic.

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT L. JACKSON,  
Associate Professor.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: Thank you for your stand on the Vietnam crisis. I do not feel we should give carte blanche to the President so that the possibility of war is alarmingly near.

I urge for a cease fire—that the United Nations settle this crisis, and bring our American boys back home.

Sincerely,

Mrs. H. MARTH.

CHISHOLM, MINN.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to commend you on your stand on voting against the joint resolution approving the President's action against North Vietnam.

I am against this business of the President dropping the bomb and then asking Congress if its OK.

We need more people like you in Congress.

Yours truly,

LUDDIG REHISH.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Yours has been the only sane voice coming over the TV out of Washington this last week.

We completely support your stand on Vietnam and on the special Senate vote to give the Chief Executive a blank check on such an important area of foreign policy.

This country and the world would be a much safer and much better one to live in if in November 3, 1964, if we could be voting for you for President and say Martin L. King as Vice President.

Very sincerely,

ESTER WILLISON.



AUGUST 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is hard to believe that there were only two votes against that resolution on the war in Vietnam. The implications seem to me to be pretty frightening—but even worse is the mindless acceptance by the entire Senate when reason and morality would dictate that there should have been an overwhelming vote against it.

It appears that one must, then, congratulate you on doing what you should have done. Very odd. Congratulations.

Mrs. VIRGINIA ROSEN.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We wish to congratulate you on your courageous stand against the escalation of this useless and senseless war in South Vietnam, in an area not essential to the security of the United States.

Yours respectfully,

HELEN, SOL WEINGAST.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,  
August 9, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: When in some other age someone writes another "Profiles in Courage," I am quite sure that you will be included. Your lone vote in the Senate on the Gulf of Tonkin affair was just that. It gives hope to all who read present-day history with their reason rather than with their emotions. Thank you, honorable sir, for your redemptive act. Your vote was not wasted.

With admiration and respect,  
KENNETH DEP. HUGHES.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express my appreciation to you for your courageous and farseeing attitude toward the Vietnam issue.

It is fortunate that at least two Senators—neither, alas, from Illinois—have your wisdom and greatness.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. LEVY.

AUGUST 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I support your principled stand in opposition to the reckless bombing of North Vietnam and to the congressional resolution. You are not alone.

Yours truly,

LAWRENCE D. HOCHMAN.

SAN MATEO, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Lately, I have been writing a lot of letters—all of them, I think, from what Bruno Betelheim calls the Informed Heart (book). These have been to a wide variety of people, just to let them know what my thoughts have been, politically, on some action; or speech that was made.

The one person I have not written was you. I guess because in some ways you are my political alter ego and one doesn't usually write letters to oneself.

Anyway, I am very glad you are there doing what I think ought to be done, saying what needs to be said; I almost want to move to Oregon just to vote for you.

I am a transplanted New Englander, here in California, best represented in the Senate by MORSE of Oregon. Thank you.

Sincerely,

BARBARA D. STIRTON.

HILLSBORO, N.H., August 18, 1964.

U.S. Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: My husband and I are very grateful to you for your courageous stand against the undeclared war being carried on in Vietnam by the Johnson administration.

President Johnson is making the mistake of his life by attempting to appease the warmongers.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. ELBA CHASE NELSON.

SHARON, MASS., August 19, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want you to know how much I appreciate your opposition to the resolution supporting our military intervention in southeast Asia.

I am pleased to report to you that your action has had a considerable effect on many of the people I come in contact with.

Your continuing efforts on behalf of our best interests and highest ideals in the face of political pressure and "public opinion" has long been an inspiration to me. I am delighted to discover I have been underestimating its effectiveness.

Sincerely,

ALFRED J. KUTZIK.

AUGUST 18, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wholeheartedly support you and your position on Vietnam. My only regret is there aren't more like you.

Most sincerely,

NAOMI SISKIND.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

BRONX, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
The Capitol,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You are one of the bravest men in Congress. It takes courage to stand by the truth. Some day the world will know that you speak the truth. I am glad that you are in Congress.

Yours truly,

Dr. SAMUEL FEINSTEIN,  
ROBERT FEINSTEIN,  
SELMA FEINSTEIN,THERMAL, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We wanted to thank you for your courageous and forthright statement on the Vietnam situation.

How can anyone escape the conclusions you have put forward? The proof is that we find ourselves acting unilaterally and without allies. This is the very kind of problem which the United Nations should be handling—or there is no hope for the world.

We are doing nothing but getting in deeper. That is plain to be seen.

Yours sincerely,

RICHARD M. KELLER.

DALLAS, TEX.,  
August 9, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I would like to commend your stand on the recent Vietnam issue. As an ordinary citizen, subject to the whims of the news media, it is impossible for me to gather enough information for me to ascertain whether your stand was right or not (in my opinion). From what I have read, I agree,

Whether your stand was right or wrong, I admire your courage in standing up for what you believe is right, in the face of overwhelming opinion to the contrary in your own party and in the Republican Party.

Best regards,

DAN CALDWELL.

DETROIT, MICH.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: " \* \* \* If you can keep your head when all about you are losing theirs and blaming it on you \* \* \*" so goes Kipling's famous poem.

WAYNE MORSE, genuine patriot of our land, you are not only a man, but will some day be looked upon as one of the few sane men in the world of today \* \* \* if history is permitted to continue.

In this situation I feel so helpless. What can I do to help?

Keep fighting for what you know is right and our only salvation.

Sincerely,

Mrs. GENORA DOLLINGER.

WILLOUGHBY, OHIO,  
August 11, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to express my appreciation of your stand for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam and against the recent bombing of North Vietnam.

Psuedo patriotic jingoism appeals to the legions of the semicivilized but your courageous action is in the true interest of humanity.

Sincerely yours,

ALAN RHODES.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing in support of your stand on Vietnam. It is heartening to know that in the wake of political reaction and apathy, there are still those who cast their vote for reason. Your stand has, from the beginning, demonstrated your integrity and genuine concern for world peace. Thank you for seeking to end the brutality and frustration of the war in Vietnam. There are many of us who are grateful.

EDWINA LIEB.

TRIPOLI, WIS.,  
August 11, 1964.

To Senator MORSE.

DEAR SIR: God bless you and I thank you for your voice on the southeast Asia strife.

I am proud of you and the brave man from Alaska.

Now what do you think is the best way to keep our Nation on the path of honor and peace.

I want to do what I can also.

So I will tell you what I would do to make this Nation strong. I would invite all the idle, poor, practical, humble citizens in the help-needed category to seek out gifted, zealous workers to plan, design, build an American home for poor families. All would get the same hourly wage, from the worker with university training to the worker with school of hard knocks experience. I would invite every religion, society, union, institution, organization, political party, and above all the characters of ability rusting away in solitude because society rubs them wrong. These people could if allowed the chance to solve their own problems. The incentive would not be a material gain but a moral one. This would draw the men of justice to the front.



The spirit of cooperation and equity that William Penn possessed, the compassion of Abe Lincoln, and foresight of Daniel Boone.

The same mental vision that taught Columbus and Newton and Switzer. These people are in this Nation right now available, mostly idle, some bitter, some in despair.

Their job is also here now.

Build a home for spiritual, mental, and physical health.

This dwelling should be safer, lower priced, handier, healthier, and more useful than any dwelling ever constructed. This home would provide ventilation, heating, water, lighting, and fire resistance in a degree higher than any other home ever built.

The effect on our own Nation would be a proud surprise to all. To say nothing of the effect on the whole world.

The process of establishing this manufacturing unit would force a boom of all trades for our good people now looking for suitable enterprises to create jobs in depressed areas would have their answer. Most important of all the mother in poor families would be given her precious relief.

Where and when shall I send you a description of what I consider a home fit to live up to what I have just written about?

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. WILLIAM A. KURTH.

[From the Far East Reporter]

MAUD RUSSELL—SPEAKER ON THE FAR EAST

Miss Russell, a native of California, resided in China from 1917 to 1943, spanning the beginning years of China's now matured and victorious popular movements and including five of the wartime years in Far Western provinces.

Connected with the Young Women's Christian Association of China during those 26 years, Miss Russell worked in many of the major cities of China, and was thus actively related to the student, labor, women's, and other popular movements which have created the People's Republic of China. Her speaking and reading knowledge of the Chinese language gave particular help in understanding the meaning of social developments, nationalist feeling and reactions on international issues.

This quarter of a century of living and working in China during years of momentous social ferment has given Miss Russell an understanding of the Asian peoples' now fast-growing struggle for freedom from feudalism and colonialism and of the issues of their countries' relationships with the West.

In the summer of 1959 Miss Russell made a 3-month visit to China. In China she traveled from north to south, from east to west, covering 10,000 miles of urban and rural China. She spent time in 13 people's communes in 10 different provinces; she went to Manchuria to see the open coal pit at Fushun, the great steel complex at Anshan and the industrial city of Shenyang (Mukden); she attended court sessions in four cities; she was in the homes of and talked with capitalists in five cities; visited neighborhood (block) committee organizations, factories, national minorities universities, workers' clubs, sanatoria and resort homes, prisons, nurseries, kindergartens, YWCA's, historical spots, recreation areas, docks in two ports (Shanghai and Tanku) noting the foreign ships (no American) that carry on trade with China. She enjoyed movies, theater, opera, public parks, shops; attended the opening session of the national congress, attended (as probably the only American) the great semiannual Commodity Exports Trade Fair in Canton where hundreds of foreign traders gather to do business with China, and saw the May Day parade and celebrations in Peking. Throughout the whole time in China she spent hours

and days and traveled with her old friends—new people in new China.

Miss Russell functions as a citizen determined to make use of the insights and convictions thus gained to help build among her fellow citizens an appreciation of the relationship between their well-being and our country's Far Eastern policy.

Miss Russell's itinerary has taken her to half of the States, speaking in cities, towns, and rural areas to varied organizations, forums, picnics, rallies, discussion groups, home gatherings, and churches. This work, as publisher and speaker on the Far East, is peculiarly timely as Asian developments and our Government's Far Eastern policy increasingly affect the well-being of the American people.

WEST GLACIER, MONT.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express to you my respect and most profound appreciation for your defense of world peace and simple honest decency in our foreign relations. Though we may have to endure in sorrow and shame to result of the failure of so many who must know in their hearts that you are right, yet will not support your effort, your courage and high principle are the more outstanding, a spark of honor in a time of dark and inglorious submission to the worst influences in our Nation. I have a wife and five children on whose behalf I also thank you, come what may.

Gratefully and respectfully,

HAROLD RIDENOUR.

SPOKANE, WASH.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: I want to commend you and thank you for the stand you took on the resolution that Congress passed, unanimously with the exception of your vote, approving the action of the President in his retaliatory strike against Vietnamese supply depots and defense installations. As I see it, the North Vietnamese were deliberately provoked by our spying jet overflights, patrol of their coastline, and as the Vietnamese say, bombing of villages to retaliate.

The military industrial complex with their hate propaganda has brainwashed the American people to such an extent that President Johnson feels that he has to outdo GOLDWATER in order to be reelected. I feel that Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas is right when he says that the United States seems to be approaching an "era of arrogance" when the world needs tolerance and understanding.

I was going to vote for the reelection of President Johnson because of his stand on civil rights, medicare, and many other progressive measures, now I can't vote for him even as the lesser of two evils. My vote will merely be a protest vote. I have always thought of Senator MAGNUSON as one of our better Senators. Senator JACKSON I have always considered as a "warmonger." Both voted for the resolution. I can't vote for JACKSON and his Republican opponent is no better, so there is another protest vote.

During the period you have been in Washington, D.C., you have served without fear or favor. It's encouraging to have someone in the Nation's Capital who I feel represents my thinking. Again, thank you.

Yours very truly,

HARDY ROWBERG.

PACIFICA, CALIF.,  
August 4, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express the thanks of me and my wife and my children,

not only for your courageous statements of conscience over the past 24 hours, as our involvement in southeast Asia grew suddenly so much darker, but for the courage you have shown through the past months and years in placing truth above power. You have helped us all, I feel, incalculably, to keep our consciences clear, no matter what more perilous conditions may ensue. It is my feeling that you have become a great American.

Yours,

HOWARD EDMISTER.

AMHERST, MASS.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I support your position on the Vietnam resolution, and I respect your willingness to stand almost alone on this matter.

I have had occasion to sit in on a few of the meetings of the World Assembly of Youth, now meeting here at the University of Massachusetts. Delegates and observers from more than 100 countries are present and, for the most part, are frankly opposed to U.S. military action in Vietnam. They favor demilitarization, along with U.N. supervision, and return to the guarantees of the 1954 Geneva agreement. I wish that our Senate might have the opportunity, as I have had, to sample articulate foreign opinion.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

DEAN A. ALLEN.

PITTSBURGH, PA.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The performance of the Senate and the House this week in endorsing President Johnson's act of vengeance and unctuous presumption that guilt is all on one side will long stand as a low point in American legislative history. I congratulate you on your courage in fighting for peace and reason.

Sooner or later we must sit down and negotiate or else we will all be destroyed in a nuclear war. Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

LINCOLN WOLFENSTEN.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am so pleased with your position opposing the use of planes to attack North Vietnam. It is unbelievable that such devastation should be considered necessary for an "attack" of PT boats on U.S. destroyers which are already threatening North Vietnam's sovereignty. Please keep up the opposition.

Mr. B. EPSTEIN.

AUGUST 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your recent statements concerning our actions in Vietnam. It is heartening to have one or two voices speaking out in an election year saying we are wrong and pointing out that sticking to a mistake is no virtue.

Sincerely,

OLIVE HOOGENBOOM.

FAIRFIELD, CONN.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Even though you were speaking to an empty Senate Chamber,



to the Senators' everlasting shame, on the question of war and peace, the American people were listening.

Please keep up the good work in speaking out for peace. You are like a sane voice in a world gone mad.

People everywhere are looking to you to keep hoisting the banner for peace. You may have more support than you think.

Sincerely yours,

RITA CHILDS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We commend and support your vote against the resolution backing President Johnson's Vietnam policy.

Although Senator AIKEN feels we should all "support the President, whether he is right or wrong," we feel this premise to be basically opposed to the democratic system, and will continue to speak out ourselves, and support those few who have the courage to oppose the majority.

Thank you so much.

JAY WENK  
IRENE WENK.

WINTER PARK, FLA.,  
August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We, together with all the decent and peace loving people of the world stand in deep admiration of your courage and sincerity in regards to your stand in the Vietnam situation.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. M. SUNDBROM.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: Permit me to express my admiration of the courageous stand you took re the resolution endorsing the Government action in the South Vietnam affair.

Sincerely,

ZACHARY SAGAL, M.D.  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I applaud your vote for truth against the President's predated declaration of war.

JOSEPH MAZLISH.

WANAQUE, N.J.,  
August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your vote against the continuation of war on part of United States in Vietnam has earned you the respect and appreciation of all thinking Americans.

If the hostilities cease in that area, your name will go down in history as one who gave the young generation a lease on life and an opportunity to grow and mature.

Anything I can do to help further your cause—you can count on my cooperation.

Many blessings on you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. A. BRENNER.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator PIERRE SALINGER,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SENATOR: I want to congratulate you upon becoming a Senator for the State of California.

As your first act, I would like to urge you to speak up for peace—not through military actions such as those our Government has engaged in during the last week—but for

real peaceful actions, which means for negotiations of all situations that can lead to war.

There is no doubt that our entering into military actions in North Vietnam will call for retaliatory actions from China and the Soviet Union. Senator MORSE in his speeches has made clear that the responsibility for the next world war will be upon our shoulders. It is still not too late to cease fire and to conduct negotiations through the United Nations. All Americans will be grateful to you if you speak out for such negotiations and not for military actions.

Respectfully yours,

TINA L. TOMASH.

Copy to Senator WAYNE MORSE.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT,  
Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SENATOR: I am alarmed at the most recent developments in Vietnam. Our military action in North Vietnam is bound to involve China and the Soviet Union, as they have stated in all their recent speeches. How can our country face the responsibility of starting a third world war—this time undoubtedly a nuclear war where there can be no victors?

I urge you, as head of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, to use your office to work for a cessation of all military activity in southeast Asia, and to bring these inflammatory matters to reasonable negotiations which can be conducted under the guidance of the United Nations.

Respectfully yours,

TINA L. TOMASH.

Copy to Senator WAYNE MORSE.

MCPHERSON, KANS.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I don't believe in eulogies because I think we should say the good things we feel about people to them while they are alive. I feel this is the only time these words would be worth anything. It is for this reason I am writing you. I just wanted to say that your actions, past and present, in the Senate make me proud to be an American. If America still has Senators like you and Senator GRUENING who are willing to stand against an overwhelming majority and vote against the Vietnam resolution, I feel we still have hope. It is really scary to me how our Senators and Representatives are eager and willing to take a step that would take us closer to nuclear war. The most terrifying thing about this was the fact that none of these Senators or Congressmen were even willing to listen to any arguments against the measure. You could have talked for 2 weeks and still none of your colleagues would have probably changed their vote.

I was privileged to visit the Senate while it was in session last November and I happened to hear you answering some of your critics concerning the foreign aid bill that was before you at that time. During your speech, you said the Senate was no longer a discussion or debating group because Senators came to the Senate to vote and not to listen. This fact is becoming more and more obvious and it is truly sad. All I can say is that I hope the Senate gets more WAYNE MORSES.

Respectfully yours,

DEAN KAUFFMAN.

P.S.—If you feel you might have real trouble getting reelected when your term ends, I might even consider moving to Oregon in time to vote for you. In the meantime, do you have any relatives similar to you in Kansas who would make a good Senator. We could use some.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The crisis in Vietnam, I think, has never really been presented clearly to the American people. Many people I speak with are willing to go along with whatever is asked of them as long as it is phrased in terms of the "cold war." Last week a radio newscast began with the assertion "Yank ships patrol Red coast looking for Communist belligerence." In the context of all of this confusion it is reassuring to know that someone in Washington has the courage to dissent. Until the case is made more meaningful for the average citizen it is good to know that someone such as yourself is protecting our interests. I hope that you will continue in this role for many years to come.

Best wishes,

KENNETH S. COHEN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are proud of you—proud of the principled stand you took in the Senate on the Vietnam issue. Your words lend heart to all who know the folly of war. Keep up the wonderful work.

Sincerely,

HELEN and JOSEPH EISNER.

AUGUST 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My heartfelt thanks is extended to you and Senator GRUENING for your votes against giving President Johnson "predated declaration of war power."

I have followed closely your views on the South Vietnam "civil war" and find us substantially in agreement. I agree that the U.N. is the place to attempt settlement of this war. I can only foresee another Korea with similar results if our present policy continues. We cannot possibly hope to win a limited war in any part of Asia. All we will succeed in accomplishing is the cruel death of many young American boys for naught.

It appears to me that we invite incidents such as occurred in the Gulf of Tonkin by deploying our Armed Forces on the very edge of Communist countries throughout the world. I'm sure that Communist Chinese destroyers patrolling in Delaware Bay, 13 miles off shore would provoke us into attacking them.

What right have we to attempt to stop the Communists from supplying arms to one faction in the South Vietnam civil war when we supply arms and even troops to the other side? Let's be honest—with dictators like Nguyen Khanh and his predecessors, who wouldn't revolt?

May I again commend you on your stand, not only on this particular incident, but on your foreign policy beliefs in general.

Sincerely yours,

ELDEN T. BOOTHE.

ANNANDALE, VA.

ARCATA, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator PIERRE SALINGER,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SALINGER: I have just read the article in the August 1964 issue of the Progressive by Senator WAYNE MORSE on his proposal to turn the entire problem of Vietnam over to the United Nations. I believe his analysis to be very clear and logical, and that we have been not only undermining the U.N. itself by our "go-it-alone" policy, but are persisting in a policy which can easily escalate into a full-scale war.

I urge you to read Senator MORSE's article. But more urgently, I hope that you will use



your important influence in the Senate to have the entire matter of Vietnam to be turned over to the United Nations, as provided under article 37 of the U.N. Charter.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD COAN.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish you to know that I deeply admire the stand you have taken with regard to our involvement in South Vietnam. I do hope this can sink deeply into the hearts and minds of our people so that this wholesale slaughter will cease and a peaceful settlement achieved.

To a courageous voice.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. G. ALSTADT.

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,  
August 12, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to thank you on the behalf of California peace groups for stands you have been taking in favor of nuclear disarmament and civil rights. I urge you to do what you can to press for removal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Also, on June 30, President Johnson proposed a bill favoring the use of nuclear weapons by our West German allies. I think this is a very dangerous move and urge you to press for open hearings and debate against such a bill.

MARTIN MEAD.

COVINA, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My daughter and I were fortunate enough to be in the gallery when you spoke on the Vietnam crisis yesterday.

We want to express our admiration for the courage, candor, and logic which characterized your statement.

Very sincerely and respectfully,

JANET AUSTIN.  
NANCY AUSTIN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SIR: Hearing the two sides of the situation in Vietnam, yours and the President's—in effect, that is all there are I am more inclined to agree with you.

I am deeply troubled about the whole situation and would be pleased if you expanded your views regarding the position of the two American destroyers, as enunciated on the CBS-TV program tonight, August 5, at 7:30 p.m. eastern daylight time.

I would also like to commend you on the isolated position, unfortunately, which you are taking regarding Vietnam and the whole of southeast Asia.

Thank you,

STANLEY ROSENBERG.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Having heard you speak on television last night, and having just read the very brief account of your speech in the New York Times, I want to thank you most sincerely for speaking out so clearly in this moment of crisis. I am sure there are many people like myself who are very worried and doubtful about this war, so far from our shores, in a country where, apparently, there

is not much support from the population for "our" side.

The President's hasty action, which, as Harry Schwartz of the New York Times pointed out in a televised discussion last night, was far stronger than could have been expected from the provocation, seems terrifyingly close to aggression. Certainly if, as you say, the U.S. ships were supporting a raid by the South Vietnamese on North Vietnam islands, it was a natural reaction on their side. In any case, no one doubts the ability of the United States to overpower North Vietnam, so this proves nothing not already recognized. Anyhow, the threats and the admitted actions of South Vietnam against the North recently, together with the fact that, although the United States insisted we would not go that far, nevertheless U.S. funds, weapons, and advisers are virtually carrying on the war; and we can hardly be held guiltless of the South Vietnamese attacks.

It is far from a simple situation, and certainly it is not one the United States should try to resolve unilaterally. Your insistence that all grievances should be referred to the U.N. is the one light in the darkness. Meantime thank you for your efforts to deny the President carte blanche to make undeclared war until the U.N. has had its say and the Congress has openly concluded that such a drastic step was necessary.

I would appreciate a copy of the whole speech if possible.

Very truly yours,

ISABELE MANES  
Mrs. Max Manes.

SAVANNAH, GA.,  
August 12, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I was so glad to hear you speak out in favor of the isolationist position as regards slaughter of American boys in another useless undeclared war 8,000 miles away. Isolationism is strong—almost unanimous, in the South. Isolationists are also against the unconstitutional conscript law. They are not to be confused with pacifists—who are a bunch of phonies. I have never heard of one opposing the unconstitutional conscript law. A father in this county has erected a stone over the grave of his 18-year-old boy with the following epitaph: "Murdered in Korea by Washington politicians."

You are on firm ground on your isolationist stand. George Washington was an arch-isolationist, and we see today the wisdom of his warning about "entangling alliances," since we are entangled all over the globe with the assurance that we will be involved in any war, anywhere in the world, no matter how nonsensical. I do not believe the Communists would be in this hemisphere today had we not been meddling all over the world, as the Monroe Doctrine prohibiting meddling by European powers in this hemisphere, by the same token did not anticipate our meddling in Europe (and Asia's) business. They did not even think it necessary to specify we were not to meddle, as they had no idea Americans would put up with it, or furnish the cannon-fodder to implement the meddling.

Never forget this: Every American President from George Washington to Wilson was an isolationist. Ninety-nine percent of the people were isolationists. Woodrow Wilson ran on an isolationist ticket ("He kept us out of war"). He realized he could not get elected otherwise. After we had had a taste of a useless foreign war we went back to isolationism and an almost unknown nominee won on account of his party's isolationism. Roosevelt ran as an isolationist for

Vice President on the Cox ticket, claiming to be against the League of Nations, and we remained isolationist. We had a neutrality law and a cash-and-carry law whereby warring powers would haul their own ammunition purchased in the United States. There were not any U.S. vessels in world trouble spots, etc., but of course Roosevelt paid little attention to the wishes of the people, and although he had said "I promise you fathers and mothers agayne and agayne and agayne your sons will not be sent to foreign wars." The politicians knew that the people were against the useless slaughter of their sons in Asiatic hell-holes, but the politician had to pretend to be isolationist in order to get elected. Then, as did Wilson and Roosevelt, they proceeded to involve us in useless wars. Mrs. Roosevelt was said to be 100-percent pacifist, but there was no greater shouter for war than she. Remember the bitter tears shared by pacifists when Roosevelt's conscript law, passed in peacetime by only 1 vote?

As this country seems destined to return to constitutional government, I believe it will abandon the un-American and unconstitutional conscript law. The news media reports both Greek and Turkish forces are equipped with American planes. We usually furnish both sides.

Enforce Monroe Doctrine. Protect our country.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

M. RUSSELL.

JAMAICA, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

To the EDITOR,  
New York Herald Tribune,  
New York.

DEAR SIR: With great interest we read the report of your correspondent Mr. Laurence Barrett "Viet Girls for blow from North" on page 5 of your edition of the 6th instance.

We were really perplexed to read in column 4: "The U.S. Embassy announced that members of the American civilian community in Saigon were being asked not to congregate in groups on streets, to avoid crowds, to travel in pairs and to stay home after dark."

For years we have been told that the Vietnamese people want our help and that we are there to "protect Democracy"! Any thinking reader must have second thoughts and Senator W. Morse's, Democrat, from Oregon, recent speech in the U.S. Senate only justifies the suspicions one has had all the time about our real motives in southeast Asia.

Thanking you for the attention you are giving this matter and hoping to read from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. E. M. POLLACK.

AUGUST 11, 1964.

Senator Wayne Morse, Senator Gruening, and Other Senators Who Will Read, Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I am writing because of the dangerous situation in Vietnam and the terrible devastation we visited on North Vietnam, because of her "unprovoked attack" on our ships. The enclosed article should be read very carefully, not quickly.

You will notice that our CIA signed a multimillion-dollar contract to airlift guerrillas and saboteurs in North Vietnam. The aircraft carried no identification marks. One unit sabotaged the water system in Dong Hoi, 30 miles north of the 17th parallel. Fourteen spy commando groups have been arrested in North Vietnam.

Does President Johnson honestly think North Vietnam is guilty of aggression when they fight back after all these attacks behind



their lines? I don't understand our ethics. Surely, there was provocation.

Premier Khanh has been saying that he would carry the war into North Vietnam whether we liked it or not. Haven't we the backbone to stop him? Put him in jail, if necessary, until the war is over, so he can't take us into world war three.

If only Congress and the people would get to know what we have been doing in North Vietnam, I am sure they would show more willingness to take the matter to the U.N. or else negotiate.

Respectfully,

Mrs. W. ALBRECHT.

PLEASANTVILLE, N.Y.,  
August 11, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your illuminating article in the Progressive and for your courage and steadfastness in speaking out against the resolution overwhelmingly passed by Congress.

I deplore the policy of our administration in Vietnam and it is men like you who encourage us to do what we can to stop this senseless drift toward war.

Sincerely,

CYNTHIA BODEN.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to congratulate you on your courageous stand against the entire body of Congress when you voted against further involvement in Vietnam.

It looks like your senatorial colleagues are not interested in the truth as it really exists. Are not the facts available to them as they are to you?

Are we so uncertain of ourselves, like gawky adolescents, that we must flex our muscles at the slightest provocation, regardless of the peril to which the entire world may be subjected?

Do you think there is any hope that we shall ever grow up to be a truly civilized Nation before we are blotted out forever?

Sincerely yours,

MAY O. MASTRONARDO.

BOULDER, COLO.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept the gratitude of one citizen who appreciates your courageous voice in Congress. Your position on Vietnam stood out as one who raises some question about our whole posture in that area. This contrasts so vividly with the unfortunate jingoism many of our Nation's leaders are apt to succumb to.

Sincerely,

Mrs. JEAN GORE.

SAVANNAH, GA.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: If there is a future history, it will record that you were right in your views on Vietnam and on your recent vote.

Yours is a lonely position in Washington, but not so lonely in the Nation where parents are human beings and are concerned with their children's future.

By the way, did you find time during the long filibuster on civil rights to read the book I sent you? Did you surprise you?

Actually the title shouldn't seem so "funny" to you now.

Sincerely,

ABRAM EISENMAN.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to thank you for taking such a courageous stand against the war in Vietnam.

The American people do not stand firmly behind the immoral and inhuman war we are waging in southeast Asia. We appreciate your refusal to be railroaded by the Johnson administration.

Thank you.

LAURIE KAHN.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

SEPULVEDA, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

The Honorable Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is just a short note to congratulate you on your recent stand about Vietnam. I admire your courage to say what is right on this, as well as on other issues regardless of their popularity.

America needs more men of your caliber in national politics.

Please keep it up, and remember, you are not alone.

Very sincerely yours,

E. A. PHILIPP, M.D.

POMONA, CALIF.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My family and I would like for you to know how deeply moved we were by your courageous denunciation of our Vietnam misadventures. Yours was the sole voice of sanity and Christian conscience.

How typical of you to expose yourself to overt criticism by the apologists, farrightists, and other cultists. No doubt your office is inundated by intricate letters. But, for those who have not forsaken logic, your clear, calm voice was the one measure of sanity in the deluge of ridiculous and chauvinistic, wobbly type press releases and reporting.

How severely history will judge our actions, and how terribly true your every word has been.

God love you, we look on you as an old and dear friend.

The SIEGRIS FAMILY.

AUGUST 11, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

YOUR HONOR: My name is John C. Hansen. I'm a respectful American citizen and a taxpayer. My hobby is politics—local, national, and foreign. I saw your honor on TV where you made a statement about giving the President the right to send American boys to Vietnam without declaration of war and where your honor voted against giving the President the power. I give your honor 100 percent right. We got struck over like that when Truman was President. What did he do? He sent American boys to Korea without declaring war and listening to the U.N. What we got out of that was not an inch. So many thousands dead and crippled. I tell your honor the truth. I don't believe in the U.N. To me it is communistic and I don't believe in foreign aid. You can't buy friends with money. Look what they are doing to the United States. The other day when they had a meeting in the Security Council about Vietnam, what did Poland and Yugoslavia do. They supported Russia and Tito got over \$2 million from the United States and so did Gromiko and we still give them some more. I don't see no sense in that. I know my two Senators, they voted against the foreign aid bill. I know Senator ALLEN ELLENDER, Democrat, of Louisiana, is deadly against it. So your honor,

here you got my opinion. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN C. HANSEN.

AUGUST 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a line to let you know that you have my support regarding your position on further United States involvement in southeast Asia conflict.

Respectfully,

Mrs. GLORIA SCHEK.

WEST ALEXANDRIA, OHIO,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
HON. ERNEST GRUENING,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: I write to express my deep appreciation for your courageous stand against the resolution giving the President free-for-all power in southeast Asia and for your attempts to awaken the American people to the grim deadend which our national dedication to a military "solution" there is getting us into.

If a shift toward negotiated settlement comes, your stand will have been crucial. My heartiest thanks to you both.

Sincerely,

Pastor DALE AUKERMAN.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI AT  
KANSAS CITY,  
Kansas City, Mo., August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your stand on the southeast Asia affair has been statesmanlike and I wish to thank you for it. I regret that others did not join you. The United Nations has recommended a program of action that is workable and in the interest of world peace.

Sincerely,

J. R. HODGES,  
Department of Economics.

AUGUST 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I agree with your declarations concerning the U.S. aggressive policy toward North Vietnam in the Gulf of Tonkin. What are our gunboats doing in a small gulf which is 9,000 miles from our shores? They pose a threat to a nation with whom we are not at war. They have established a 12-mile-zone limit which, if we wanted peace, we would respect. But, the United States has let it be known that they do not recognize a 12-mile limit, only a 3-mile limit, causing friction immediately. This alone is openly hostile. The report that the PT boats attacked without provocation just seems to be a hollow report, as no small nation would not deliberately fire on a warship with big armament and belonging to a world power. If Russian warships were 12 miles from our shores they would be in a legal zone and in international waters the same as U.S. warships in the Gulf of Tonkin. We could not do nothing about it. Once more, get out of southeast Asia.

Truly yours,

GERHARD ULRICH.

SONOMA, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Mr. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Let me thank you for your stand against the "free hand in Vietnam" resolution given President Johnson.



There can be no principle, national or international, that justifies the death of one American, or even one Vietnamese in southeast Asia.

Sincerely,

RAUL COREY.

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I want you to know that I, among many of my friends, appreciate the stand that you and Senator ERNEST GRUENING took on the recent North Vietnam incident.

Sincerely yours,

JACK HAMPTON.

GARY, IND.,  
August 10, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am full of admiration and gratitude for your courage and statesmanship as displayed in opposing the President's request for advance approval of acts that could lead to war in southeast Asia. Although you had only Senator GRUENING and Representative SILER at your side, you spoke louder than the chorus of sheep in both Houses. I am thankful to you for so consistently holding the democratic course. I hope your constituents continue to show their good sense by returning you to your seat in the Senate when you must run again.

I am afraid that GOLDWATER's views on foreign affairs will tempt the President to adopt an opportunistic me-tooism in reverse to show the Nation that he is just as ready as his opponent to get tough internationally. In domestic matters, too, it seems to me, a rightward shift is possible. If the bad guy is bad enough, the good guy can afford to be a little less good without risking more than some annoyance of his followers.

Very sincerely yours,

CARL L. KAHN.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: May I praise your position on the Vietnam crisis. Perhaps you might make a more complete statement with regard to your position—also to advise us how to proceed.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

ELINOR MARION.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

DEAR SIR: I want to thank you for speaking out against the "predated declaration of war." As with Truman's war maybe no declaration by Congress ever will be made. I am not for GOLDWATER, but I can see why some people like his seeming frankness.

Again, thank you.

Mrs. K. NICHOLS.

NAPA, CALIF.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My husband and I would like to commend you on your recent protest against the resolution backing President Johnson's actions in southeast Asia.

To us it appears that President Johnson is attempting to undermine Senator GOLDWATER's criticisms by taking action which is the opposite of the responsible control our country should demonstrate; thus the President is doing what, as yet, GOLDWATER merely proposes. Expediency in the defense of freedom is no virtue.

We also believe that by concurring with the resolution most Senators ignored their responsibility to insure their constituents a responsible representation in Congress. If it is true that many Senators believed the action dangerous and unethical but voted in support of it because they believed the voters supported the attack, then the Senators' obligation is that of education.

We sincerely hope that you are correct in stating that a cloakroom vote would have been different from the public vote; however such deception, such a lack of courage and honesty is even more deplorable than opportunism. How far can lawmakers go in their quest for power without losing the integrity of the entire country? How far can they go without gambling the peace of the entire world?

The Senators' failure to be concerned with the rights of their constituents is also illustrated by their apparent unconcern in giving the President the power to wage war without the approval of the people. We appreciate your warning of this misuse of authority. The framers of the Constitution did not, of course, envision mid-20th century insidious engagement in war, the use of euphemisms in place of overt declarations of war. A thoughtful study should be made to resolve the discrepancy between the Constitutional definition of war and the realities of present day international politics.

We congratulate you on your heroic stand.

Sincerely yours,

DOROTHY A. KOGL.

AUGUST 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to congratulate you on your courageous stand in opposition to President Johnson in the recent events in North Vietnam. It seems that all the other Congressmen sheeplike followed their leader, and would continue to follow him, even if he decided to lead them over a cliff. Congratulations on your independent thinking and outspokenness. Your outspoken criticism may yet awaken the American people from their profound ignorance which has been induced by a captive press.

I'm sure that the whole world admires your stand.

Very truly yours,

JOAN MATHEWS.

ARLINGTON, MASS.,  
August 10, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I send you hearty thanks for the stand which you have taken in the recent discussions on Vietnam? We need more like you to ask what business we had to be in the Gulf of Tonkin in the first place.

You may be a voice crying in the wilderness, but please don't stop.

I suppose you have seen the enclosed, and I hope you got a chuckle out of it.

Sincerely,

Mrs. CHESTER G. A. ZUCKER.

CARPENTER, MISS.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I go along with your decision to vote "nay" on the President's stand in southeast Asia. I think you are a very good Senator. I would like to have an autographed photo of yourself and a Senate pen set.

Thanking you for your time and consideration, I am,

Sincerely yours,

RAY PRICE, JR.

STATEN ISLAND, N.Y.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to compliment you on your courage to vote against Korea II.

I also agree to cut off foreign aid.

I am a merchant seaman and see how little it helps the average citizen, if at all.

It takes courage to vote against the vote-hungry herd.

Sincerely,

ANTHONY SMOLENSKI.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to thank you for your efforts and vote against the folly of the present United States policy in shoving the country into war in Indochina and very possibly with China itself.

As you have pointed out all along the Navy, Air Force, CIA, and Defense Department planners have been determined to bring us into a full shooting war against North Vietnam. Now, by filling Tonkin Bay with the U.S. Navy they have managed their "incident" and the super flagwavers gather to cheer.

Oregon and the whole country can be proud of you. You will go down in history as a man of sense and vision.

Sincerely,

ANN D. McNALLY.

HUISTER HEIDE, (U) HOLLAND,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: Although I have disagreed (sharply) with your too severe criticism of President Sukarno, especially after Mr. Robert F. Kennedy did a splendid job in bringing United States-Indonesia relations to the brink of normalcy, I am extremely proud, indeed, that you disagreed with U.S. policy in South Vietnam. And that you expressed your disagreement in your Senate vote. Here, you are entirely correct and history will prove you were.

I am on my way to Cyprus, India, South Vietnam and Malaysia, after which I will begin a tour of China and spend some time in Peiping on assignment for the Associated Press of America. Upon return, I would be most happy to come to your office and relay some of my experiences in the Far East, firsthand, to you sir. As it stands now, I am afraid, our policies tend to promote the spread of communism, not curtail it, as we would like to see.

Respectfully yours,

WILLEM L. OLTMANS.

BOSTON, MASS.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wholeheartedly endorse all you say about the war in Indochina.

Unjust, unjustified, and unpopular wars have, among their consequences, the effect of poisoning the political atmosphere at home, arousing antilibertarian and jingoistic feelings. The Algerian war, whatever else it did, effectively destroyed democratic institutions within France. Only because De Gaulle outsmarted the army was France saved from military fascism.

Walter Lippmann pointed out sensibly the other day that we do not need to be present on the ground in order to be a dominant power in southeast Asia. Our Navy and Air Force make it possible for us to keep the Chinese out, if we so choose, without the loss of a single foot soldier.

The Chinese have never been popular in southeast Asia; but before we get through they are very likely to be popular.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN HOLT.



JAMAICA, N.Y.,  
August 10, 1964.

The Honorable Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Enclosed a copy of our letter to the Herald Tribune; of course we do not know if they are going to publish it, but we want to let you know how much we appreciate your recent speech in the U.S. Senate; you were outstanding in every respect and if they call you maverick it's for a good reason. You have definitely shown courage in these crucial times and have our admiration.

With best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. E. M. POLLACK.

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.,  
August 17, 1964

Senator W. MORSE.

DEAR SIR: Millions of us are with you against the sacrifice of our men and our taxes in Vietnam.

We have too much in need to be done in our own country to restore the dignity of our people as it befits a democracy and a good example of the world.

God bless you.

Mrs. F. JAY.

LOS ALAMOS, N. MEX.,  
August 19, 1964.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I appreciate your stand on the Vietnam situation. It is easy for the American people to forget what the law of the land demands.

Have just returned from our vacation in Portland, Oreg. Family members, friends, and acquaintances all supported your stand.

Sincerely,

DARREL K. BURNS.

PERRYOPOLIS, PA.

Mr. MORSE: For quite a few years I have kept tab on the way our Senators and Congressmen have voted and performed and I want to congratulate you for being the best of our present crop.

It is a shame that I cannot vote for you and help you as you seem to have more good commonsense than any of the rest and I want to thank you.

Respect,

ALBERT KRAUSE.

PUGET SOUND BANK BUILDING,  
Tacoma, Washington.

Democratic members of Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

Following is a copy of letter to Walter S. Mack, Esq., chairman of National Committee of Republicans and Independents for Johnson, Inc.:

"DEAR MR. MACK: I would be tickled to death to join your organization and make a substantial contribution if it were not for one thing: President Johnson has astounded me by indicating that he is ready to go as far as or further than GOLDWATER in Vietnam. If necessary to promote and maintain 'freedom' there, he would take us into a nuclear war. That is one issue that overshadows everything else, in my opinion, for it could result in the destruction of our form of government, our system of free enterprise, and even the human race.

"If this tweedledee and tweedledum continues, I might publicly urge people in this State to abstain from voting for President as a protest against utter irresponsibility. Attached is a clipping covering my views on Vietnam.

"I am tremendously impressed by your record as presented by the New York Herald

Tribune of July 22, 1964. I am a former Republican, now an Independent, a disillusioned veteran of World War I, active for 45 years for world law and order via the League of Nations, World Court, and the United Nations, and 1963 chairman of the Washington State Bar Association Committee, World Peace Through Law."

REX S. ROUDEBUSH.

[From the Tacoma (Wash.) News Tribune,  
Aug. 13, 1964]

PROTESTS U.S. ACTION

To the Editor:

I have sent a telegram to President Johnson in the following form:

"The plan for us to go to war, if necessary, against the north half of the smallest weakest country in Asia to secure peace is altogether new and novel in world history; it is also new as a necessary means for maintaining our national prestige. It would be like a St. Bernard dog attacking a mouse so as to avoid the appearance of cowardice.

"In every one of the liberated countries, there will, undoubtedly, be revolutions for generations, as in South America. For anyone to talk about establishing stable conditions in these countries while exploitation is still in progress and while the people are illiterate and without experience in self-government would appear to me to be childish nonsense.

"I earnestly suggest that your administration honestly support your solemn declarations for the promotion of world peace, that we stop bypassing the U.N., and that we allow the inherent weaknesses of communism to continue without interference from war in order that communism may collapse in due time.

"To fear communism in peacetime shows a lack of confidence in free enterprise—the best system ever developed—a system which has been weakened only by our stupid participation in two world wars, both carried on by our side in the name of freedom."

REX S. ROUDEBUSH.

AUSTIN, TEX.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: With great satisfaction I listened to your radio pronouncement about the recent insistence in Vietnam and your vote against any warlike undertakings.

I would like to thank you personally for your courage. The English press was very skeptical about the whole affair and implied, that probably the 65-mile limit was not exactly kept.

Thank you again.

Yours truly,

ELSE SHAW.

MOUNT VERNON, MO.,  
August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We thank you for your great courage in standing almost alone in your fight against United States intervention in South Vietnam. We were greatly disappointed when others who had lent some support in former days, turned, under great pressure, no doubt, and supported the war leaders. It is with great apprehension that we see this thing stepped up and moving nearer to world holocaust. Please keep up your courage. Thousands of American people know that you and Senator GRUENING are right and we hope that you keep up the good work.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. STEPHEN B. CRUMPLEY.

BROOKSVILLE, MAINE,  
August 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Once again I wish to commend you for refusing to approve of the resolution to step up the Vietnam war.

I hope you will run for President. I want to be able to vote for someone I really believe in.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN R. HAASE.

BREWSTER, N.Y.,  
August 10, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE L. MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to reiterate my appreciation of your courageous stand re Vietnam, which I expressed in a "pom" on August 5.

The wire, if you recall it, read: "Warmest gratitude for sane and courageous condemnation of United States provocative action toward North Vietnam."

This was a purely personal message, but I can well imagine that others, too, associated with our work for World Federal Government, would have agreed.

Thank you, too, most warmly, for pointing out so forcibly the unconstitutionality which many feel marks the resolution. It seems to me to bypass—or attempt to bypass—one of our most important safeguards, i.e. the power of Congress alone to declare war \* \* \*. I should be thankful if you would send me the whole speech as soon as possible.

Again, with fervent thanks for all you do against a war which some reckless men would appear to court.

Sincerely,

MISS TRACY D. MYGATT.

PERHAM, MINN.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to write this letter to let you know there are many people who congratulate you for the stand you have taken on foreign affairs. We certainly are the villains in many places. I think there are other Senators who feel as you do, but who haven't the spunk to stand up for what is right. Senator HUMPHREY is a "yes man" and afraid he would lose votes if he stood up for righteousness. He will probably lose votes in the next world; which may not be too far off, the way we are going. There are scarcely 10 percent of us who believe in human rights for all people; but I think we will be rewarded in the next world.

I wrote an article about 5 years ago, trying to wake up people up to the fact we have to change our ways in foreign affairs; you got one copy from me. "What Do We Fear?" is the title of it. We should never be in Vietnam. That is an internal affair, people struggling for existence against those who have exploited them; and only the few have all the money. We won't let people have a free hand to speak and vote for what they believe in. Instead we train the money-grabbers to militarize so as not to let the poor people come into power; just because they believe a socialistic government is much better than what they have. Even when they are elected, our money is spent to build up the opposition to militarize, and not let them take office—as in South America—or else have them killed like Lumumba in Africa, by supporting those who oppose communism. In the Lord's eyes, I think we are doing wrong.

Up to now I have voted for HUMPHREY, but they have gone so far from the path Roosevelt took, I cannot find any President to vote for. We need men like yourself or Senator FULBRIGHT who dare to stand up for the right, even if it means losing votes. We have so thoroughly propagandized the American people that they are blind to what we are doing to other distressed nations, who are trying to better themselves as we did



when America started. I wonder how we would have liked it if other nations had come over here and helped the other side to keep us from having a change.

Well, we have one thing they cannot take from us; it is a mind of our own, and the ability to stand up for righteousness, regardless of the consequences.

Thank you very much.

R. E. NELSON.

TULIA, TEX.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am glad you are awake as to what is going on in South Vietnam. This cold war hoax should be stopped. This has been a phony all along.

The very idea of our boys being killed over there for nothing at all. This is ignorant Johnson politics. It will take the election of Senator GOLDWATER as President to put an end to this damn foolishness.

What are they doing about this communism that is taking over and in the saddle here now?

You are the Senator qualified to expose this South Vietnam rot.

Yours truly,

GRADY BRIGGS.

SPOKANE, WASH.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The shocking events of the past week emphasize the urgent need for new legislation to reestablish the control of the Congress over the power to wage war.

When one trigger happy commander, responding to a real or imagined attack on the high seas, can bring the world to, or over the brink of war, the Congress is not exercising its constitutional responsibility. As you pointed out, when the Congress passes a resolution affirming the decisions previously taken by a destroyer commander, the Secretary of Defense and the National Security Council, it is a mere post facto rubber stamp. A dangerous precedent has been established under the guise of national unity in the time of crisis.

The dictatorial powers of an American President to touch off a nuclear holocaust are no less dangerous to the continued existence of humanity than were the dictatorial powers conferred on Hitler after the Reichstag fire or than those exercised by Tojo when he ordered the attack on Pearl Harbor which almost serves as a model for the attack ordered last week on the North Vietnam Navy. While we may admire and trust a Lyndon Johnson, would we want to see these powers in the hands of a Barry Goldwater or a Joe McCarthy?

Obviously the power and speed of the nuclear era, coupled with the modern custom of attacking first and asking for the endorsement of the Congress later has injected a new factor in foreign relations. At the time of the Cuban crisis and again in the attack on North Vietnam, the world has been dependent on the good judgment and self-control of the Communist rulers of Europe and Asia for the preservation of civilization. Had the situation been reversed would American public opinion have permitted us to ignore such a challenge?

Another new element has emerged in the field of foreign relations since the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency, and its entry into the underworld of espionage and intrigue. The United States has become involved in underhanded diplomacy and interference in the affairs of sovereign nations to an extent previously unknown in this country. In many cases their activities appear to serve the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the

international financial world rather than the interests of the American people.

These two serious developments—the transfer of the warmaking power to the executive branch and the transfer of the conduct of foreign policy to the CIA call for new legislation and an investigation of these dangerous and unconstitutional seizures of power. Your courageous and almost single-handed fight against these forces is a great responsibility and a great burden, but at least it is not as frustrating as the role of those who have no forum from which to "view with alarm."

I believe that I can be of help to you in meeting this responsibility which your position and your conscience have placed on you. Our views of foreign policy coincide and my experience in military affairs, military intelligence and the military attitude can complement your experiences.

After 10 years of service as a reserve officer, I entered on active duty in January 1941, and in the fall of that year I graduated from the Army's Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth. I served as an intelligence officer on the staffs of Gen. Carl Spaatz, Lt. Gen. James Doolittle and Gen. Nathan Twining at Headquarters of the Northwest African Air Forces, Northwest African Strategic Air Forces, and 15th Air Force. In addition to 5 years of active military service I spent 12 years as a civilian employee of the Federal Government working as an auditor, accountant, and investigator. I have had an almost lifelong interest in foreign affairs. My degree is in psychology which has also given me some insight into the almost psychopathic development of foreign policy. I have some thoughts on legislation which I will outline briefly.

For the Congress to fulfill its obligations as the representatives of the people in the fast-moving crises of the nuclear age, it needs some means of keeping in touch with the day-to-day developments throughout the world in the diplomatic world. Members of Congress cannot spend their time watching the developments and they cannot rely on the briefings or handouts from the executive branch. There is a need for either a liaison branch or an intelligence branch which is answerable to the Congress rather than to the executive, if the Congress is to be sufficiently informed to perform its functions.

Perhaps a department similar to the Comptroller General's department to check into the political and conspiratorial activities of the Foreign Service agencies is needed to give the people control over their role in world affairs. Our Government's activities in Guatemala, Cuba, Vietnam, and Laos, as well as in many less publicized places around the world seem to bear no relationship to the real needs of America or to the principles of liberty, equality, and justice which inspired our forefathers.

The increasing strength of the Communist nations of the world has created a new situation in which world affairs are no longer the exclusive business of the financial and commercial interests of the country. When the future of humanity itself is in the balance it is not right that the people, through their elected representatives do not exercise effective control over the agencies which are using the power of America to attempt to maintain the status quo in countries where it no longer represents the will of the people. I believe that the time has come for a far-reaching investigation to determine the true functions of the Department of State, and to make it an instrument of the aspirations, principles, and future welfare of this country, rather than a safe refuge for the upper classes.

There is certainly no more urgent task than the development of a foreign policy which will maintain peace with justice and prog-

ress. The Congress has a vital part to play in helping to formulate that policy. It cannot do that successfully unless it has a staff or an agency which can provide it with the information which it needs in order to advise the Chief Executive. A watchdog agency could perform a vital task in preventing the use of the power of the United States to advance the interests of minority groups at the peril of the whole Nation.

There is no lobby working for the interests of the faceless mass of the people and we cannot expect a lobby to prepare the legislation for such an investigation. This is a job for a public-spirited statesman like yourself. I will be happy to do whatever I can but I can do little by myself. If there is some way in which I can serve on the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee or on your staff to work on the plans for an investigation of the forces influencing American foreign policy my experience as an investigator can be utilized to bring out the facts as to why our foreign policy has strayed so far from the principles on which this country was founded. The present crisis and the previous crises in Cuba and Lebanon and in the Congo should be adequate reason for the Senate to take a searching look at foreign policy and why wars can be started without a declaration, in advance, by the Congress.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to suggest a way in which I can be of service to the country and to you.

Yours very truly,

WILBERT H. RIGGS.

BELLINGHAM, WASH.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE.

SIR: Re the last 3 lines "All Viet, etc." I make a guess there are 75 million and myself have said "amen" to this. How right you are. Another thing, these 75M people are against these moon shots; foolish; \$156.40 of my taxes each year goes for this foolishness. What we going to do with the moon when we get there? And it's going to cost many lives first. And too, how come we are not fighting in Cyprus. We seem to be in all the fights around the world.

I wish you "rots of ruck" always.

J.S.

CONGRESS GIVES OK TO ACTION TAKEN BY  
L.B.J.

WASHINGTON.—Congress voted overwhelming approval today of the resolution backing President Johnson's actions in the southeast Asian crisis.

First the House, on a 414-to-0 roll call, and then the Senate adopted the resolution in a display to the world of bipartisan unity behind Johnson's firm military response to attacks by Communist North Vietnamese on U.S. warships.

In the Senate, there were protests against the resolution from Senators WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, and ERNEST GRUENING, Democrat, of Alaska.

MORSE said it was giving Johnson "blanket authority to wage war." GRUENING argued, as did MORSE, that "all Vietnam is not worth the life of a single American boy."

SANTA CRUZ, CALIF.,  
August 12, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to commend you for the courageous stand you have taken on the Vietnam situation. Today there are very powerful forces seeking to embroil us in war. With the exception of American lives lost in the Spanish War, World Wars I and II, most of us Americans know not what the horrors of war really are for we have never had a bomb drop on American soil. Powerful forces who stand to gain financially are whooping up the people into hysteria.



They call it patriotism. They know that millions of Americans are like sheep, easily led to believe the lies put out by the paid propagandists over the radio, television, and the press.

The "Masters of Deceit" today are the officials of big business, principally those engaged in so-called defense work. The advisers to our President are mostly corporation executives and military brass from the Pentagon who have become stooges for big business. While talking peace with tongue in cheek they connive clandestinely, urging more and more money for defense, which means more profits and higher salaries for the profiteers. Educators are frowned upon as Presidential advisers for they are all labeled without exception as fellow travelers, pinks, and even Communists. Educators in high government service are anathema. Businessmen only are capable of being advisers. They have the know-how, the ability proven by successful careers, and the accumulation of wealth.

We are constantly reminded by the President and Government officials and the paid propagandists that the free world and American interests must be protected by all means possible. With the exception of a handful of wealthy families, their politicians, and the military, which we always approve who are bribed by our Government and American corporations, what does freedom mean to the masses of starving people in Latin America, Asia, Africa, the Near East—yes, even in the United States, the millions of unemployed, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and many others?

Protecting American interests? Our President and Government officials keep repeating that theme over and over but never elaborate on it. Why don't our Government officials explain just what those interests are? If they were ever told that to protect American interests the world over is to protect the investments of American oil corporations and the hundreds of all our large companies which have established branches all over the world, just to take advantage of cheap foreign labor—causing much unemployment in our own country—there would be less enthusiasm to protect those investments on the part of millions of us little people. American, British, Dutch, and Belgium interests (investments) are the greatest menace to world peace today. When American corporations go to a foreign country its aim is profits.

Nations which have been saved from the horrors of communism, save the politicians, the military brass and the few wealthy families, are the people any better off than they have ever been throughout the past century? With the exceptions of a few business blocks with beautiful buildings and apartments which are used for window dressing, the whole continent south of the U.S. border is nothing but a mass of shambles, misery, starvation, disease, and illiteracy.

The President of the United States, his advisers and most of our politicians who are stooges for big businesses have been urging a military blockade of Cuba. They have even threatened the so-called free world nations that if they do not do as we say, we will refuse to do business with them, cut off all credit, refuse to buy their products, and will do business with only those nations which obey our demands.

The plan is to starve 6 million Cubans until they submit to our demands—return to American investors the sugar plantations, oil properties, and all other investments taken over by the Castro regime, investments which have exploited to the limit the Cuban people for the past century. Our Government officials and the vested interests want to bring back to Cuba the bright lights, the gay life, gambling, prostitution, dope ped-

dlers, illiteracy, and all the forces of evil that existed prior to the takeover by Castro.

We never miss an opportunity to tell our people the evils of atheism and the godlessness of communism, but we, a great Christian nation and people, are doing the most ungodly act by deliberately urging other Christian nations to starve 6 million poor innocent people so that we can once more satisfy the greed of big business.

What if Castro should be overthrown and the Cuban exiles should take over? With their many differences it would be a mess such as the world has never seen, much worse than Dominican Republic, South Korea, the Congo, Cyprus and the many nations which we have helped set up, which today are in a worse mess than ever.

People today all over the world are on the march. They want to work out their own problems in their own way without being exploited by American business. (The Communists call it American imperialism.)

Since the ending of war in Korea in 1953, we have been on a cold war economy. We have had a period of so-called prosperity since World War II, but look at the great number of unemployed, and the dim outlook for millions of young men and women just coming into the labor market every year. Intensifying the cold war does not seem to solve the problems of our economy, so our American interests are bent on starting a hot war. They have no other solution. The Republicans have just nominated a little boy wonder who is going to clean out the world of communism. The "sheep" believe he is our only savior who will be able to solve all our economic problems.

The young generation perhaps do not know that in the depression years of the 1930's, millions of unemployed were still being paid for leaning on shovels right up to the day before Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941. If it had not been for World War II and since then the many billions poured into keeping the cold war going—with many millions employed directly and indirectly—we would still be in the 1930's depression. Can anyone deny this statement? Unemployment figures for past years in a so-called period of prosperity prove it. Our Presidents, surrounded with business executives for advisers, have no solution. Mr. GOLDWATER says private enterprise with less Government interference and less money spent by the Government will solve all our problems.

Perhaps it would be a mighty fine idea if we and the rest of the world took a look at the Scandinavian countries to see what makes them tick—three little nations with very limited resources, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the only bright spot in the world of "free nations." Their people live on a higher standard, their medical needs are taken care of by the government, illiteracy is practically nonexistent, no slums or people living in shacks, very little unemployed with crime insignificant compared with that in our own Nation.

They do not threaten their neighbors or other nations, and threats from the outside are not serious. American interests (investments) Ah! that may be a sore spot, are nil. If all the nations in the world took a lesson from those three little nations and tried some of their methods, we would have peace and more happiness. It would grow and grow. Communism would be stopped dead on its tracks.

Should our U.S. Government instead of starving Cuba and other governments which our "interests" do not like, were to do the most Christianlike gesture by setting up a Denmark in Cuba, a Norway in Vietnam, and a Sweden in the Congo, it would not be long before the rest of the world would follow suit. This is a challenge to Mr. GOLDWATER and Mr. Johnson and to all our politicians.

Their choice is now limited. Creeping socialism, businessmen may call it, but it is better than galloping communism or a third world war which will be the finale.

Yours very truly,

J. REYNOLDS SOUSA.

AUGUST 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express my gratitude for your courageous vote against the South Vietnam resolution. Once again you have demonstrated that it is possible for a man in public life to retain his sanity.

How can we stop this mad rush to out-goldwater GOLDWATER?

Sincerely yours,

FAITH BISSELL.

P.S.—I enclose a clipping which merits the attention of your colleagues.

WHITE BACKLASH WOULD HAVE BEEN HANDY  
LONG Ago

The phrase white backlash has become popular during the civil rights movement. It appears that it will become a permanent part of the vocabulary.

Such a phrase has been sadly lacking for a long time. Its absence has resulted in much injustice. Because there has not been such a phrase, many persons have endured having their true motives and beliefs falsely labeled.

They have been wrongfully accused of being racists, bigots, segregationists, and other things when they were simply white backslashing.

An example of this occurred just a few years ago in a fine North Shore suburb when a builder planned a housing development that would include some Negroes.

By coincidence, the residents of the suburb promptly decided that the homesites would be an excellent place for a park so they voted to condemn the land.

This resulted in an outburst of national publicity, during which residents of the suburb were accused of being prejudiced and of fostering segregation.

This surprised and embarrassed them because most had long been fair and liberal and without prejudice in their conversations on racial matters.

Some, in fact, even owned businesses, such as car washes and laundries, in which they willingly employed Negroes.

Others owned buildings in Chicago that they gladly rented to Negroes, usually to capacity.

But in the fact of the ugly charges it was difficult for the suburbanites to explain their true position because no matter what they said, some people didn't seem to understand.

Today, instead of groping for words about land values, community wishes, and such, they could elevate the whole issue to the accepted term—backlash—and everybody would understand.

History is full of such cases of people being maligned. A few examples:

Some time after World War I, a group of 50 prominent southern farmers were driving to a tailor shop to have some white sheets repaired. They had holes in them.

On the way, they were attacked by one elderly Negro who had apparently gone berserk because of the heat.

While trying to calm the man, and to defend themselves against his ferocious attack an accident occurred. The poor fellow became entangled in a rope, accidentally lashed himself to a high tree limb and hanged himself.

Thoughtless persons promptly misunderstood what had happened and began accus-



ing the 50 men of terrible things. The spotlight of publicity even intimidated the judge and jury and each man was fined \$3.50 plus costs.

Had it happened today, explanation would not have been necessary. The whole thing could have been labeled a backlash of sorts.

Another case of misunderstanding involved a prominent deputy sheriff in one of the border States.

The deputy was strolling, one evening, when he noticed that a big, ugly fly was about to settle on the head of a Negro, who was dozing on a porch.

Because he hated flies and feared that the man would be infected with malaria or something, the deputy whipped out his gun and tried to shoot it.

Unfortunately, the shot went astray and fatally wounded the Negro.

Once again, there was a hue and cry, despite the fact that 38 witnesses stepped forward to corroborate the deputy's account of the mishap.

Because of the stigma that attached itself to him, it wasn't until the next election that he was elected sheriff.

Today, it would be immediately labeled as a type of backlash and all of the furor would be avoided.

Cases of backlash can be found even prior to the Emancipation Proclamation, which touched off most of the current problems.

In his autobiography, former slave Frederick Douglas wrote of his boyhood and how he tried to learn to read.

In the furtive manner of most slaves, he did it on the sneak and before long was making some progress in reading words in his textbook—the Bible.

The slaveowner discovered what was going on and became disturbed because he was a firm believer in the dangers of a little knowledge. It had been his experience that slaves were better off with no knowledge.

Without realizing it, the slaveholder became one of the first known practitioners of backlash.

He applied the lash 30 or 40 times to young Douglas' back.

Unfortunately, Douglas didn't get the message and continued in his bad ways, learning to read and all that.

Such stubbornness persists today.

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: You are really performing a great service by enlightening people on Vietnam. It is too bad we do not have someone from California who will do the same. Because of our "managed" news I rely on my short wave radio to tell me what others really think of us and it is a shock to realize that we are not well regarded in many corners of the world because of such arrogant actions.

All my fellow members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom agree with and applaud your stand.

If you could send me at least one copy (but preferably two) I would be very grateful.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. L. BEAGARIE.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is heartening to find that your voice continues to ring loud and clear against our involvement in the war in Vietnam.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

ANNE FLORANT.

P.S.—If it is available, I would like to receive a copy of your remarks on the President's message yesterday.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SIR: Please forward a copy of your comments concerning Vietnam made in the Senate on the 5th of August.

May I thank you in advance.

Sincerely,

SYLVAN G. FELDSTEIN.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: May I add my commendation to those you have already received on your very courageous stand in the grave Vietnam situation. Wish that we had more like you or at least more that would at least listen to you.

Faithfully yours,

JEANETTE ROSENFELD.

NORTH ST. PAUL, MINN.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator W. MORSE.

DEAR SIR: I like your stand on policy regarding the war in Vietnam. Have only felt it necessary to write my own Congressman so far. Only hope that you are able to keep up the good work. And I will continue to press for an end to war in Vietnam here among our State Representatives in writing.

Mrs. IRENE KUSEKHE.

BURLINGTON, VT.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U. S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have delayed much too long in sending you a note to thank you for your representing the point of view of a few Americans at least.

Is there any chance of a Morse-Fulbright ticket so that we can have a real choice in this campaign?

You represent my views exactly, on domestic and foreign policy. Are we as few in numbers as it seems?

Sincerely,

HAROLD S. SCHULTZ.

GABES, NEV., August 7, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your stand on the Vietnam crisis. I hope you get a good deal more support than I think you will.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM WELSH.

CUMBERLAND HOSPITAL,  
Brooklyn, N.Y., August 12, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: May I commend you on your stand on the war in South Vietnam and your courage in standing firm against an overwhelming majority.

Yours respectfully,

HARLEY YERDCS, M.D.

KANSAS CITY, MO.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE, OF OREGON,  
The Congress of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to tell you that I am very much in favor of the courageous stand which you recently took in the U.S. Senate in connection with our activities in southeast Asia. This is a very complicated matter, and should be made objectively clear to all the American people.

We seem to be following a double standard—we impose our ideas of what should be done via force, then counsel other nations to negotiate. This does not seem to be leading the way to world peace, as we say we are.

Respectfully,

HELEN YARNELL.

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to congratulate you on your vote against the North Vietnam venture.

As I see it, there are three possibilities:

1. Become more and more involved in South Vietnam until we end up in some sort of a debacle like the French did or, like we might have if we had stayed longer in Korea;

2. Extricate ourselves from such a situation by the use of nuclear weapons, probably on Peiping, which in turn, would lead to God knows what; or

3. Get out now while we still have a chance.

I hope you will keep on opposing this silly venture.

Yours truly,

IRVING F. LAUCKS.

DUPONT, IND.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like for you to know that I appreciate your courageous voice in the wilderness. Your recent stand on the Tonkin crisis is further assurance that honesty and courage are not dead in America. Our best wishes.

Very truly yours,

J. A. PHILLIPS.

MORGAN HILL, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a line to tell you how much I honor and respect you for your persistent, day in and day out, protestations against our madness in South Vietnam. I am sure you have influenced great numbers of people. I know you are respected by almost all of my friends. If only we had many Senators who had your convictions, our Nation would not have lost the respect of so much of the world.

Very sincerely,

Mrs. MABEL S. BILLING.

DENVER, COLO.,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We wish to commend you for voting against supporting the President in the southeast Asia situation.

Your article on Vietnam in the August issue of the Progressive is very worthwhile reading.

We urge you to do all possible to get a full debate in the Senate on a concurrent resolution disapproving the agreement to permit NATO countries to share nuclear information.

You are doing a magnificent job in telling the American people the truth.

Sincerely yours,

DOROTHY JACOB.  
ANN BEATTY.  
ELIZABETH P. JOHNSON.  
SOPHIE GINSBURG.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We want you to know that we deeply appreciate your speech for peace in Vietnam.

War is an unthinkable way of solving world problems and should be outlawed completely.

With all the nuclear weapons available talking of war is bad enough, but shooting of any kind is a fright.

We hope you will continue your efforts for peace and we hope that President John-



son will display the leadership toward peace and not follow the Goldwater line of war and even atomic war.

Thank you again for your great words and deeds.

Sincerely,

Mrs. SHIRLEY SCHIFFRIN.

—  
DRYDEN, N.Y.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We would like to express our admiration for the speeches and statements you have been making for the past several months in regard to southeast Asia. The point of view you have been presenting makes more sense to us than any other, and the information you have assembled has been most helpful in clarifying our own thoughts and in talking to others.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN and MARTHA FERGER.

—  
BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations—you are apparently the only U.S. Senator possessing intelligence and integrity. (There are still a few who admire such things.) We thoroughly agree with your courageous stand against war in Vietnam.

Sincerely,

ROBIN McRAE.

—  
BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senators MORSE and GRUENING: More power to you both and bless your hearts for voting against the political warmongers.

Thanks.

BERNICE BRODE.

—  
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We would like to say that we agree wholeheartedly on your decision not to provoke war in the Far East with the Chinese in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

THE CONGREGATION OF PEOPLES TEMPLE.

—  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I should like to register my strong support for your courageous stand against U.S. aggression in southeast Asia.

It is most important for a person of high political office to speak out for peaceful settlement when much of the population succumbs to the war propaganda of the commercial news media and the war hawks in Government.

Very truly yours,

ARTHUR W. DIQUATTRO.

—  
ROCHESTER, N.Y.,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Though I do not agree with your rather resolute stand against the current foreign aid bill, I laud you on your courage and perseverance in opposing the administration's policy in Vietnam, and I am confounded by the fact that so few Americans will admit that it is hopeless to expect to win a shooting war there. There is no doubt in my mind but what the President's action against North Vietnam has signaled the final last gasps of America's ill-advised intervention in southeast Asia.

Respectfully,

R. G. BUDDENHAGEN.

MADISON, WIS.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Yes, we agree with you on your lone stand re Vietnam. It must be difficult with only a few timid voices echoing your words but there is an audience who listens and respects your courage.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. TRENT M. BRADY.

—  
CINCINNATI, OHIO,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I write this note to commend you for your firm stand on the issue of the Vietnam crisis. Yours seems to be the only truly rational voice in the Senate on this entire issue.

Please know that there are many individuals in Cincinnati sharing your point of view, and congratulating you for your unequivocal stand.

Sincerely,

LUCILLE G. BLOCKSON.

—  
BEATRICE, NEBR.,  
August 10, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is encouraging for the average citizen to know there are men in the U.S. Senate who believe that government should have a moral responsibility, and is willing to exercise that belief.

I wish to commend you on the stand you took against the President's Far East resolution which could plunge the whole world into total war.

Sincerely,

CHARLES SUTTON.

—  
DES MOINES, IOWA,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR Mr. MORSE: It was most gratifying to hear of your vote against our being in Vietnam.

If we are truly fighting communism we would be helping the Cuban refugees instead of arresting them.

It doesn't make sense, sending our boys thousands of miles from home to fight Communism and at the same time protecting Castro Cuba, and appeasing Khrushchev. These riots show the need of cleaning up our own back yards if we are to receive the respect of the world. It is time more people stood up for what is right. Thanks again and you make me proud, for your convictions.

Sincerely,

EDITH THOMAS.

—  
CONCERT NETWORK INC.,  
Somerville, Mass.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing this brief note to thank you for voting according to your convictions in the recent resolution to give President Johnson a blank check for handling the Vietnam crisis. I recognize that being one of two against the rest of Congress is not an easy task. You may know, however, that there are others who strongly support your view, for one reason or another: A man whose letter to the Times was published (he teaches at Rutgers), a handful of pacifists who were brutally disbanded and arrested in New York, and many others.

One of the most revealing articles printed on the Vietnam situation was published recently by the War Registers League, Bayard Rustin, director. If you have not read this

report, I urge you to secure a copy for yourself, and possibly your fellow Senators.

With best wishes.

Gratefully,

ART SILBERGELD.

—  
YONKERS, N.Y.,  
August 10, 1964.

Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Although I don't come from your State, I want to write to you to tell you that I believe your action in voting against the recent resolution supporting President Johnson in the Vietnam situation was a courageous and right one.

It is too bad more Senators did not have your courage and insight.

As just an ordinary citizen, I am grateful to you for looking out for my interests.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. MARTHA SALANT.

—  
DAVIS, CALIF.,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for voting against the joint resolution to support the President's decision to authorize the U.S. forces in Vietnam to bomb North Vietnamese PT boats.

My personal feeling about the Vietnamese situation is that the United States should withdraw completely its forces and support, providing the governments of both North and South Vietnam would agree to neutralization under United Nations supervision. Even if such an agreement is actually impossible it would seem preferable to me that we should withdraw our armed forces and military aid, rather than become involved gradually in a total conflict. I don't feel our "commitment" in South Vietnam has much real meaning; it is a commitment to a government that needs change, and by the South Vietnamese people themselves, without our military interference.

This country could be proud indeed if all its Senators and Representatives in Congress had the courage to stand alone for what they really believe to be the right vote on each bill and resolution.

Sincerely,

CAROLYN DORN.

—  
WHEATON, ILL.,  
August 11, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am glad to hear that you are opposing the unwise policy of our Government in southeast Asia and Vietnam.

It seems to me that some kind of negotiation to stop the fighting and get all foreign military out of southeast Asia and Vietnam is in order. Where there is a will there is a way.

The longer the war continues the greater will be the danger of communism taking over all of southeast Asia. Not just now of course, but in the years to come. War prepares the soil for the germination and growth of totalitarianism.

Cordially,

FRED E. JOHNSON.

—  
SKOKIE, ILL.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I applaud and support your courageous vote in the Senate against United States military actions in North Vietnam.

This dangerous situation in southeast Asia must be brought to a conference, and I hope that you and Senator GRUENING will be able to muster further support for your



stand against American lives and money being squandered in Vietnam.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. J. WEINMAN.

P.S. I have also written to the Illinois Senators, to Senator AIKEN (who had previously expressed opposition to expanding the war in southeast Asia) and to President Johnson.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,  
Berkeley, Calif., August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend you on the courageous stand which you took on the resolution increasing President Johnson's power to deal with the situation in southeast Asia. There are very few times when the truth does not deserve to be heard, and the dangers of refusing to hear it seem to me monstrous. There was much truth, if regrettable truth, in your remarks on the United States role in southeast Asia in the past decade. A moment of crisis is no time for that truth to be silenced. There are too many irrevocable moments which follow and in which the main concern can be unity instead of rectitude. I urge you to resist the tide of ignorance and rancor which will attempt to move you from your position. You must continue to deflate the self-righteousness which is so cheap and unacceptable a substitute for the strength of the just.

Sincerely,

KARL BOTTIGHEIMER.

BISHOPS HEAD, Md.

Senator MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to thank you for the stand you have taken concerning the Presidential right to act warlike wherever he sees fit.

My TV set is in poor condition and I miss a great deal and it is a 60 mile ride to a newspaper stand and there is no delivery here which puts me at a disadvantage concerning world happenings. I try to keep up by reading current books and that is my source of information.

Have just finished reading "The McNamara Strategy" and it fills my heart with grief to hear that the Vietnamese are being treated so badly at the hands of our military. It is as if one were reading the atrocities committed by the Nazis. How can the American people remain silent while their fellowman is so badly treated.

Our top brass in that far off country finds a subject wishing to do his bidding, he is then offered money and every sort of deadly weapons to compel those unfortunates who cross his path. Finding himself in power he loses no time to harass and kill those who dare refuse to do his bidding.

I have tried a long time, 74 years, and the longer I live the more difficult it is for me to understand the things that are happening around the world.

I was delighted with Woodrow Wilson because I believe he gave his life to make the world a more peaceful place and there was Roosevelt who did his best for the same reason. Since his passing the world and its people have been kicked about like a football and the shining new world that was to be free from fear and want knows greater fear since his going than ever before.

Little man Truman took it upon himself too to stand the Korean war with nothing gained but the loss of many fine men. Mr. Dulles kept us in the brink of disaster. Mr. Kennedy may have done some good tho I dislike his actions against the Cuban people. Had that episode been land led more justly it could have ended in a more satisfactory manner. Now Mr. Johnson is at the helm and tho he talks like a kindly father about peace and the many good things he wants

to do for mankind he cuts off by turning over to the military whose business is war.

I am so unfortunate to be living in the neighborhood of an air testing field and day and night subject to planes flying over my house to pass if they were going to slice the roof off. The speed and noise is terrific and I fear I will scream unless I get some relief.

I wrote to the President a letter but he is too busy to answer.

Forgive me for writing such a lengthy letter.

At the beginning I only wanted to thank you for what you are doing for humanity.

All good wishes and many thanks.

MAY J. HECKMAN.

SHERMAN OAKS, CALIF.,  
August 13, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Be not downhearted. Today's minority is tomorrow's majority.

For the average man in the street the main stumbling block along the road to accepting your point of view about Vietnam is the question, "But if we get out now, won't the Communists take over?" This question is compounded by a mental image of Communists as bestial barbarians who suck the blood of children.

I don't see how we can hope to live in peace unless we are ready to reassert certain basic historical American principles. Number one principle is the right of people to determine for themselves the sort of government they shall have. If they "determine" communism, we have no business suggesting an alternative and backing up our suggestion with the U.S. fleet. This is true in our own backyard as well as in Asia.

A second forgotten principle is that the ends do not justify the means. In support of capitalism we have created an image of a Communist monster. Liberals are particularly guilty of developing this one-sided image of the Red as imperialistic, Anti-Semitic, Fascistic and godless. Small wonder the man in the street says that he prefers war to surrender to the monster.

Yet the simple truth, attested to by all who visit or study the lands under a socialist economy, is that the people rather like guaranteed employment, ownership of the lands and factories and general sharing out of the wealth in the form of free medical care, vacations, old age pensions, etc., etc., etc. While there is plenty of room for argument over the superior merits of our system over theirs, the argument is not of the "final" order that demands war and the obliteration of one side or the other.

Yet how many American politicians will dare serve their country by raising the issue in its proper perspective? The very best are given to a formula that adds up to, "I yield to no man in my hatred for the Communist beast, but \* \* \*." That is a very weak "but," Senator, and one of these days we may even "but" our way into world war III.

Sincerely,

FRED RINALDO.

MONROVIA, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to thank you for your courageous stand in opposition to the resolution by the Senate granting what amounts to power to wage war in the Far East to President Johnson. Such war would bring unspeakable tragedy to the world. The presence of our warships so near the coast of our antagonists was provocative to say the least. I have wired the President and our two Sen-

ators urging settlement of our issues by negotiation through the United Nations.

I thank you also for your efforts to cut our appropriations for foreign military aid.

Very truly yours,

A. SHOEMAKER.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 13, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

Just to let you know you have many supporters in your antiwar policy.

EUGENIA BEM.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,  
August 13, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.:

History will vindicate your courage in insisting on the bitter truths about war or peace in Vietnam. May we do anything to provide you with another national forum here in Cambridge?

MARTIN PERETZ,  
Harvard University.

SAN MARINO, CALIF.,  
August 14, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Bravo you and Senator GRUENING the only sane and humane people in the entire Congress.

SOPHIA AUSTIN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: A few lines to let you know that we believe you right in your refusal to give your vote of confidence in our war in Vietnam. It seems to us that the primary issue is moral and humane and it is regrettable that there are not more dissenters and courageous voices in the Senate and House on our involvement in Vietnam and our cruel pressure on Cuba.

We note that nonresidents may run for the Senate in New York State; certainly we know that you love (and understandably) Oregon—but would you consider running here next time? We need you.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. HAK VOGRIN.

CHATSWORTH, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Your remarks on the recent American action in Vietnam were both encouraging and discouraging; encouraging in that you made them and discouraging because yours was the only voice speaking them.

You are to be admired for your courage and honesty in a time when many people in our country seem to be suffering from a type of paranoia concerning certain national and international issues, particularly those dealing with civil rights and communism. When people act through emotions such as fear and hatred instead of logic, the actions seldom are wise and the results usually are undesirable. It seems that it is this kind of national feeling which has led to many foolish decisions in recent years in regard to our relationship with Communist countries. They exist in the world and there is nothing we can do about it, when will we realize this? Perhaps if Red China had



been recognized officially by us and seated as a member in the U.N. the world could have more control over the actions of that country; as it is now, China operates outside international law and as a result, we seem to think we may have to confront her with arms. It seems so needless!

You were certainly "to the point" when you asked why U.S. ships were in the Vietnam area and why, in fact, were we participating in their affairs instead of placing the problem properly with the U.N.?

You may have felt quite alone in the stand you took in the Senate, but you were speaking the thoughts of many conscientious Americans whom I know.

Yours truly,

PATRICIA ENGLISH.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 13, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SENATOR: This letter should have been written many moons ago. Courage demands support and your courage coupled with a deep conviction in your fight for peace against an overzealous administration bent on pursuing war, is not only admirable but heroic. In my work which keeps me busy most of the day, for as you should know making a living at today's prices is not a many splendored thing. Well, sir, in speaking to my coworkers I find, too, some similarity to your efforts to convince those who would sooner war than talk peace. In order for me to read your speech of August 5, I had to send away to New York City for a copy as our newspapers merely reported five or six lines from it. So you see, Senator, you have no press. I have no doubt that you, too, express concern over the tone of our press, that seems to have one point of view, that of agreeing with shoot first policy. I not only agree with the statement made in your speech, and I may be late in saying this, quote, How can we implement them? unquote.

Every day becomes a crucial one and events are shaping up every day that require constant vigilance in order to somehow brake this drive to war. Voices like yours are fast becoming few, however, there is an election coming, where policy and platform are adopted, it may be that more voices will unite with yours, and we will be heard. May your strength increase, your voice like a clarion call, be heard on those days to the assembled hosts, and may God soften their hearts in order that we may live in peace. Amen.

Respectfully,

M. ABEL SABLE.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,  
August 10, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: Last night there was a special nationwide television report on the situation on Cyprus. The Greek Cypriote representative at the Security Council meeting condemned Turkish use of napalm as an inhuman tactic, reminiscent of Nazi terrorism. Naturally we Americans agree; it is indeed tragic when civilians, or anyone for that matter, are victimized by such military operations. You yourself called for non-intervention by Turkey and Greece, and urged the crisis to be settled by the U.N.

Excellent. I agree wholeheartedly. And now why not act like reasonable men and apply the same to Vietnam? Is the use of napalm on Vietnamese villages really justified by the fact that there may be some

guerrillas among them? The newscasters claim, without a trace of sarcasm, that it has been necessary to convince the South Vietnamese that they should care about the outcome of the war. President Eisenhower suggested a mass propaganda project to persuade the South Vietnamese to quit protecting guerrillas and to support Nguyen Khahn. I have no doubt that such a project is necessary when children are burned by American bombs, crops are destroyed by American scorched-earth policy, and young men are pulled out of the woods (how can one know they are guerrillas?) and tortured by South Vietnamese soldiers in American-made uniforms, carrying American rifles. All of these things are freely admitted by the national press and the military; and yet the American people and their leaders (with a few notable exceptions like Senator WAYNE MORSE) continue in their shockingly blind belief that they are bringing freedom and happiness to South Vietnam. If the United States retreats from that country, it is believed that the Communists will take over the government; I suppose this is possible, even probable. And if I was a South Vietnamese villager, I would much prefer the Communist enemy (who does not bomb the villages of his allies) to the capitalist friend (who does).

You politicians and statesmen claim to care about the lives of civilians (and even, occasionally, about the lives of soldiers); and if you are not irredeemable hypocrites you will reject the following excuse: That the Greeks and Turks are NATO allies; therefore they mustn't kill each other or the Cypriots; and that the North Vietnamese and Americans are not allies at all; therefore they can slaughter all they please, including the South Vietnamese.

Some nation, at some time in this nuclear age, must abstain from committing murder on such a monstrous scale, justified and caused by nationalism, sweet-garlanded with phrases like "manifest destiny" and "peace-and-freedom-loving peoples." Let it be the United States who for once shows it means that it is opposed to war by disarming, unilaterally if necessary. There can be no Communist takeover by means of arms, for ideas must be fought with ideas, not guns. If this country dropped its arms it would be far safer, in my estimation, than with them. Let us hypothecate: If the Soviet Union or Red China decided to "take over" the unarmed United States, they would not bomb this country beforehand, when they could have it intact. And in such a hypothetical situation, the Soviet or Chinese administrators, police, etc. could be submitted to heavy propaganda, helped along by intermarriage, and they would be absorbed into the American life; much as the trespassers on Chinese territory lost their enemy-identity for thousands of years. A synthesis of political and philosophical ideals, of industrial and agricultural methods, of kvass and coca-cola, could be arrived at. In the last analysis, people all over the world are looking for the same things: peace, love, security, freedom, etc. If these things can ever be realized by anyone, they are only obtainable if people work together, not fight against each other. The great American argument against the teachings of Lenin is that the ends are invariably affected by the means. If the United States really believed that, it would disarm; or, at the very least, pull out of Vietnam. Other countries would probably follow suit.

I urge you to exert every effort to help the United States free itself from this insane contest.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. SUSAN STANICH ABRAMS.

Copies to Attorney General R. F. Kennedy and Senator WAYNE MORSE.

REGO PARK, N.Y.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Allow me to congratulate and thank you for the forthright, objective, and moral stand you have taken on the Vietnam situation.

I have noted that you have consistently offered a coolheaded appraisal of the southeast Asia predicament and I and my family wish to thank you for speaking out the truth. Unfortunately, not enough people, including Senators, Representatives, and the administration can see things as clearly.

I have been amazed at the United States policy to consider this area of the world as vital to our national interest, regardless of the will of the majority of the native people. Would you know whether our commitment to the South Vietnamese administration has behind it a strong investment in American business dollars? Can this be a part of our interest along with the "saving of face," which often results in the loss of the rest of one's body.

I know you will continue to see the truth and reveal it to the American people in spite of the odds, but I want you to know that it is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY CROSSWEINER,

FREER REALTY,

SEATTLE, WASH., August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you again for your stand on our military actions.

I wish I could help.

Yours truly,

R. D. FREER.

LYNWOOD, CALIF.,  
August 12, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: May I tell you that I agree wholeheartedly with your opinions as expressed in your recent speech before the Senate? I am only sorry that we do not have more like you in Congress, instead of its being infested with so many do-gooding Pollyannas who are so intent on "saving," supporting, and running the rest of the world that they are losing their own United States to the forces of hate and violence.

Ever since Franklin Delano Roosevelt saw himself as the Almighty's Second Son and, together with his "disciples," "Winnie C." and "Good Ole Joe," proceeded to divide the world according to his whims, we have been wasting the moneys and resources of this Nation on every snivelling, half-baked "democracy" on the earth, and, even more tragically, giving up our most precious treasure—our finest young men—to their petty little wars.

I do not give one tinker's dam about South Vietnam, except to wonder how much of our tax money, that my husband has worked like a dog all his life for, is now helping to support Mme. Nhu in luxury in Paris.

South Vietnam was doomed to takeover by the Communists ever since Dienbienphu, when our President Eisenhower was too busy playing golf to take any interest in anything else, and his Vice President marched up and down the land thundering "massive retaliation," as he beat his breasts with cream puffs, and the Communists laughed, thumbed their noses at us, and went about their business of conquest.

All of Asia was lost to communism even before that, when Harry Truman drew a line at the Yalu River and forbade MacArthur to



cross it—not matter how many of his men he had to stand by and see slaughtered.

This morning—after reading the enclosed column by Morrie Ryskind I am absolutely livid—does the \$10,000 of our money the Turks have been spending on air deodorants make their unwashed millions smell any better? Does the \$1,000 for bubble gum keep their young from suffering “psychological trauma” and thus escape becoming juvenile delinquents?

Will the \$15,500 spent on hormones and Royal Bee Jelly enable the free Chinese to better enjoy their concubines? Or will it only provide more free Chinese for us to send more thousands of dollars?

Could not the Cambodian just diet—like I do—instead of needing \$17,240 of my money for Metracal?

How much more of this idiocy must we stand for—and pay for? How much longer must the American people watch helplessly while our so-called “Representatives” in Congress continues to make first-class asses of themselves, dispensing largesse with both hands and bending the knee meekly to the same recipients of our charity, who have such contempt for us that they allow an American army officer to be slapped in the face, and forbidden to retaliate, take it?

We are sick and tired of it all, sick of the insults, sick of the “sale” of millions of dollars worth of wheat, paying for it ourselves, delivering it in our ships, and have those same ships forced to pay higher fees than other countries pay to dock and unload it. Sick of hearing the Shah of Iran and every other two-bit despot “ruler” of every little corner of the earth come over here, with their hands out, and tell us what we, the “haves” must “share” with the “have-nots,” presumably him, while his bejewelled, ump-teenth wife, “Empress” spends \$5,000 in one shopping spree in Magnin’s.

Sick of supporting a lot of rattle-taggle, half-baked “diplomats” in the lap of luxury in the U.N., sick of reading of the lavish parties thrown by these same representatives of nations which “cannot afford” to keep up their dues payments, but can afford their call girls—or, heaven help us, we are paying for them too?

When, and where, will this insanity stop? Who will have the guts to stop it?

Meantime, I see the money earned by us in our productive years, which should be going into savings for our declining ones, going down into such a sewer, and my anger and frustration grows more every day. What a bunch of idiotic damn fools we have running this country today, and have had ever since 1932.

I see all around me so much need and want right here in my own country, I see far too many of our own aged persons living from check-to-check on their “social security”—which seems to get a hike on the level earned so often that fewer persons can hope to draw the maximum benefit each month, while living costs keep skyrocketing so that they cannot possibly live and pay out the prohibitive medical costs we have today, or even pay for the insurance plans the opponents of Federal aid to the aged so glowingly describe (just how can an oldster drawing \$90 a month pay out \$23 of that for “complete” coverage, which is really far from complete)? Yet Congress allows itself to be led by the nose by a few unscrupulous, powerful members of the AMA, who could not care less about our old ones, and denies help to them so that they must go, hats in hand, to the county begging for charity.

I see this at first hand. My own mother, who worked hard all her life to support herself and me after my father left us, was recently charged \$35 for one office visit to her doctor, \$20 for the call and \$15 for an electrocardiogram, then another \$15 for a chest x-ray, and nearly \$10 more for her medicines. Her monthly check is a little

over \$90. What would she have done for rent, food, and other necessities, if she had not been living with us? Yet I read how very well our old folks can manage. Even General Eisenhower’s pontifical words in the Post stating how sure he is that our elderly would rather pay their own medical bills. Just what does he know about this? he who has never had to pay a medical expense for himself or his family in his life? And who rests secure in the knowledge that, when his times comes, he will loll in luxury in Walter Reed or some other Government hospital, and not in some cockroach-crawling, rat-infested county general? With all of his expenses paid, and every slightest whim gratified, by the “great suckers,” the American taxpayers. His wife had a hysterectomy and remained in Walter Reed for weeks, even special pillows had to be sent out and bought for her because the ones used by the ordinary people did not suit her majesty, every dime paid for by the taxpayers.

Well, I had a hysterectomy about that same time, too, and I was sent home to shift for myself on the sixth day after and nobody paid my bills.

It is high time the taxpayer was let off this hook too. I am all in favor of free care for our service and Government employees—up to a certain point, but I certainly cannot see why we have to pay the medical bills of persons earning more than we do.

I did not vote in the last election because I could not stomach either candidate. I feel exactly the same about the two who will grace our ballots in the coming election, yet I feel that it is high time for all of us to get up and start screaming, get new brooms and declare “a plague on both your houses” and get some new blood into Government, from the lowest to the highest, before it is too late, if it is not already.

While we have been wooing every little petty ruler overseas, our own land has become a land of anarchy and violence. Just a short while ago I read a little squib in the paper which really hit home. It said: “America has fought two costly World Wars to make the world safe for democracy, but it has not been able to make the streets of New York safe for the people of New York.” How very tragically true.

Very truly yours,

PHYLLIS MORELAND.

#### CIA PULLOUT ON TRANSPORT OF VIET GUERRILLAS REVEALED

(By Beverly Deepe, New York Herald Tribune Special)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM.—The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency canceled in mid-July its part of a multimillion-dollar contract with a private American aviation company that had the undercover mission of airlifting guerrillas and supplies behind enemy lines in North Vietnam and Communist-held sections of Laos.

Reliable military sources said that pilots of more than 12 aircraft included Chinese and Turkish nationals, but no Americans. American civilians were used for ground support, administrative, and maintenance functions.

The U.S. Government, through the CIA, about 2 years ago, had signed jointly with the Vietnamese Government a contract with a private American firm called American Aviation Investors, Inc. The CIA broke the contract several weeks ago.

SEEN AS REBUKE

The cancellation of the American cosignature was interpreted here as a rebuke to South Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Khanh, who has in recent weeks launched a “go north” campaign to attack Communist North Vietnam.

General Khanh’s campaign contradicted U.S. policy at the time. Presumably, the

U.S. Government broke the contract in order to limit his capacity to send Vietnamese special forces guerrillas and saboteurs in North Vietnam and Laos.

Since the cancellation of the contract, General Khanh has toned down and redefined his “go north” policy to mean simply a means of finishing the war “instead of letting it drag on.” Since then, North Vietnamese PT boats have twice attacked U.S. destroyers in international waters off the coast of North Vietnam.

#### NO IDENTIFICATION MARKS

The CIA contract with American Aviation Investors, Inc., called for a highly mobile undercover air operation involving several helicopters, six to eight C-45 and C-47 transport aircraft, some equipped with radar, and L-28 helicopter planes. None of the silver-colored aircraft carried identification markings or insignia, except black numbers.

The C-45 and C-47 transport aircraft are often used to drop paratroopers behind enemy lines; helicopters have the capabilities of landing in small jungle clearings and the four-seater L-28 helicopters can land on short clearings and runways.

Information concerning the droppings of South Vietnamese guerrillas, agents, and saboteurs behind enemy lines is fragmentary and undetailed, since it is not the official policy of the United States or the South Vietnamese Government. However, such activities are known to have been launched in the past and are continuing now.

Asked about such activities, Khanh simply says, “We cannot discuss that.” U.S. military sources confirm that South Vietnamese special forces are dropped behind enemy lines, but details “are classified.”

The wives of South Vietnamese special forces troops sent to North Vietnam also sometimes inadvertently drop information. The wives call the mission into North Vietnam an “express train to death.”

Casualties on such missions are considered high.

Within the past 6 weeks, reliable Vietnamese sources confirmed that a South Vietnamese special forces unit landed on the South China Sea coast near the North Vietnamese city of Dong Hoi, about 30 miles north of the 17th parallel separating North and South Vietnam. They succeeded in sabotaging the city water system.

#### CONVICTIONS REPORTED

The most detailed information regarding South Vietnamese saboteurs and guerrillas operating in North Vietnam comes from North Vietnamese radio broadcasts and newspapers, but the accuracy of the information is difficult to assess.

On April 22, the North Vietnamese Government reported a “spy trial” in which a Communist military court 2 days earlier tied a group of seven “spy-commandos of the United States and its henchmen in South Vietnam who had been dropped on a mountain region of Camb Xuyen district, Ha Tinh Province.” The North Vietnamese report listed names and ages of the seven “spies” and their sentences which ranged from 3 years to life imprisonment.

The report continued: “According to their declarations, these commandos were entrusted by the United States and its stooges in Saigon with carrying out intelligence work and sabotaging activities and psychological warfare in North Vietnam. This is the 14th spy-commando group arrested and duly punished in North Vietnam within the past months.”

LA CROSSE, WIS., August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Like some of you men in Washington, I have not only opposed our position in southeast Asia, but I



deplored the fact action that President Johnson took there.

Why did he choose to act on his own and in such a hurry? With so much talk about expanding the war in that area one can't help but wonder about such action.

I have detected an air of expediency ever since this man took office and because of it he could never get my vote.

As for Congress—I still say that if we are to have "good government" it is imperative that we go through the proper channels as we have always done. To do otherwise is not only to put too much power in the hands of one man but, to destroy our form of government in the process.

I was very much surprised to learn how many Members of Congress couldn't see this. I am, however, grateful for the Members who could.

My very best to you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ROGER FLETCHER.

NAPA, CALIF., August 7, 1964.

Senator THOMAS KUCHEL,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KUCHEL: We have just wired the President expressing our opposition to the war in Vietnam and that we strongly support his pledge "to seek no wider war."

It is our hope that Secretary General U Thant's suggestion to reconvene the Geneva Conference be accepted. We definitely share his views that military methods will not achieve peace in South Vietnam.

We share your expressed admiration for the United Nations. We hope you and all those of any influential capacity will tap their ingenuity and ability in implementing a rational and humane course in the area of foreign policy.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES SLATER.  
GRETA SLATER.

Senator WAYNE MORSE: We respect and wholeheartedly concur in your courageous dissent on our recent retaliative strike against North Vietnam. We are frankly losing heart in fighting for peace for it appears the tragic heritage of military psychology ever submerges the rational and humane approach in international relations.

G. SLATER.

EVANSTON, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I just heard and saw you on a special news program on the current crisis in Vietnam. To see a man in public office take a firm stand for what he believes in despite popular belief is a rare and marvelous thing these days. I would never forgive myself if I didn't write and tell you what a deep sense of admiration I felt for you this evening when I saw you take a stand for what you felt was right even though your colleagues and, undoubtedly, many fellow Americans, do not agree with your position. You are a very courageous man, indeed.

I am deeply concerned over the situation in Vietnam and have felt ever since our involvement that we have not been allowed to know the truth about our actions in that country. Reading "A Nation of Sheep" by William Lederer alarmed me even more. I thought he gave very convincing facts in his book showing that the American people were not being told information which is our right to know about.

At this point I even have my doubts as to whether this attack by North Vietnam isn't a falsehood and an excuse to involve ourselves even deeper in that war.

I realize what a dilemma we're in in southeast Asia. We probably could never win a war there and yet we can't allow communism to swallow it up either. Surely there must be some alternative. Is De Gaulle's policy of neutralism completely unrealistic? My husband says yes for anytime we don't stand up with force to the Communists they achieve their goals in a given situation.

I love my country very much and want her so much to stand for principle under all circumstances and not stoop to the Communist tactics of the end justifying the means. The blind chauvinistic attitude that many people seem to have these days concerns me very much. No one is always right, even Americans. We ought to be mature enough to admit our mistakes once in a while and set about correcting them with dispatch.

Would you please be kind enough to give me some information that would help me to justify our position and our right to be in that country in the first place? Do the people really want us there? My heart goes out to these poor people. As Americans we probably could never conceive what it's like having a war going on in one's towns and cities killing women and children as well as soldiers. The thought of it makes me shudder.

I pray that all mankind can be spared another war of any kind.

Thank you so much for your kind attention.

Sincerely,

NANCY S. SHANKS.

VANCOUVER, WASH.,  
August 11, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have long regarded you as the most courageous man in our public life. Now I must take time to express my admiration for your leadership in the Vietnamese question.

It would be a pity if no one warned of the consequences of sliding gradually into an interminable Korean-type slaughter or, more likely, into an escalating massacre by bombing, including A-bombs.

Nor, on a lower level, can it be good politics to do so. You might remind us that everyone was united in support of President Truman's entry into the Korean war, but that when it became a tragedy the Republicans called it "Mr. Truman's war." I believe that revulsion against it was the greatest single factor in the Republican victory in 1952. Also, if history repeats itself, the current congressional resolution will not save the President from being saddled with "Mr. Johnson's war."

I hope that you will give some thought to countering the omnipresent falling domino theory that has been used at every stage of the cold war. It can be used to justify anything, anywhere.

With great respect,

D. F. FLEMING,

*Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Vanderbilt University.*

P.S.—I recently expressed my admiration for your leadership concerning southeast Asia in a lecture at the University of Oregon in Eugene.

FOOTHILL COLLEGE,

Los Altos Hills, Calif., August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I both want to express our agreement with your honest and courageous stand against the Vietnam resolution. It is a shame that only one other could find the courage to join you. But even if only two speak out perhaps others will find heart in their example on some future date.

We wish that we were still living in Oregon so that we could vote for you and work for your reelection.

Yours truly,

W. E. TINSLEY.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: A few days ago my wife and I wired our unequivocal approval of your forthright position respecting the so-called declaration seeking congressional confirmation of the President's hasty and unwarranted retaliatory action against North Vietnam, as well as sanctioning future actions.

Again, we wish to assure you that we are entirely in accord with your position concerning southeastern Asia. We are, indeed, most grateful for your continuous espousal of the only sensible policy for this unfortunate region—neutralization.

Our candidates for President—MORSE and GRUENING.

Very best wishes,

ELIZABETH and JAMES ROBERTSON.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My heartfelt thanks for your recent vote against President Johnson's resolution permitting military action in North Vietnam. This resolution was truly a carte blanche to escalate the war.

You were speaking for millions of Americans who are too timid to tell Congress and the President that they want the war in South Vietnam to end, and that they abhor the very thought of spreading it farther and involving our soldiers in it. I wish we had Senators like you and GRUENING in California.

Keep up the good work. Keep plugging for another Geneva Conference, and an end to our senseless intervention.

Yours for peace,

Mrs. GRACE GONICK.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: We want again to tell you how much we admire your persistence in talking against our Government's action in Vietnam. With so few of such a huge body of legislators ready to support you, ready to admit U.S. mistakes, we are sure your efforts have not been easy.

Our Minneapolis Star says that the Senators largely leave the Senate Chamber when you rise to speak. If that is true, God help the United States.

Sincerely,

H. K. STEPHENS AND FAMILY.

EAST JAMAICA, VT.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Isn't it wonderful how quickly our Congress achieves unanimity in supporting action for war—would that the same were true in our small steps toward decency and peace. But thank God there are one or two voices of sanity who speak for the many Americans who are ashamed of the disgraceful aggression undertaken in their name.

I am sure I am not the only one outside your State who is grateful for your courageous stand.

Sincerely yours,

JEANNETTE VOSK.



ROCHESTER, MICH.,  
August 13, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your speech in the Senate urging negotiation of the southeast Asia war. Thank you for your vote against the resolution supporting Johnson's action.

Yours sincerely,

MARGARET DUFFIELD.

BURLINGTON, VT.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: This is to express sympathy with your stand on Vietnam and admiration for your courage in opposing endorsement of the President's actions.

With every good wish.

Yours sincerely,

ROWENA R. ANSBACHER.  
H. L. ANSBACHER.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are greatly heartened by your courageous and principle stand regarding our military involvement in Vietnam. We are most unhappy to see our Government carrying on, as France did, a "dirty war" in that unhappy country.

More power to you, sir. We wish you were President.

Gratefully,

LAURA VAIL LYMAN.  
ELWOOD W. LYMAN, M.D.

OAK RIDGE, TENN.,  
August 11, 1964.

HON. WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your lonely (except for Senator GRUENING) plea for use of civilized reason in the Vietnam situation last week. I have not been convinced that the U.S. Armed Forces belong there either.

I was appalled at the overwhelming congressional approval of President Johnson's request for power to enlarge the conflict there, should he deem it desirable. Thank God for your voice of dissent.

I can't imagine what has happened to the democratic process in our land when the House of Representatives unanimously approves such a serious step in the face of such abysmal ignorance of the facts among the populace. The Senate performed only slightly better owing to the wisdom and courage of yourself and the good Senator from Alaska. I become concerned when our Congress can come up with but "one mind" on so controversial a question. The exercise of pure intellectual objectivity could never have brought forth such a result.

Certainly, by now, the fallibility of our assessments of the Vietnam situation must be evident to most thinking Americans. To continue on this stupid road to destruction is both unpatriotic and downright immoral.

Your proposal for eventual neutralization of southeast Asia through negotiation by the U.N. appears plausible. Surely it is a step in the right direction.

It seems that you are the only person in Washington who is interested in the facts surrounding the situation and making them available to the man on the street. Our local press, on rare occasion, prints out-of-context excerpts of your speeches, but never full texts. Can you tell me how to get copies of them? Perhaps you should make your speeches available in paperback form as Senator FULBRIGHT has recently done with his foreign policy views.

In closing, I want to thank you again, Senator MORSE, for speaking out on behalf of me. I appreciate your efforts.

Sincerely,

ARLENE H. KIBBEY.

P.S.—I am sending copies of this letter to my own Tennessee Senators, Albert Gore and Hubert Walters, and also to President

AUGUST 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: During discussions at work about southeast Asia, I have tried to quote or remember things that have come from your committee that has been questioning the Pentagon and State Department, but I have not been doing a very good job of it. So, if your office has any literature or information to help me discuss the southeast Asia problem, I would appreciate it.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT VARTANIAN.

ALTADENA, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: I admire your courage. It is rare indeed to have a politician have great courage to express his views in a time such as this when one is almost compelled to conform.

Please send me a copy of your statement as I wish to try and understand your points of view.

I hope you can be in the Senate for a long time. America needs men like you.

Yours truly,

EVAN THOMER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to thank you very much for your courageous stand taken during this Vietnam crisis. Unfortunately, I heard only the portions of your speech which were broadcast on the air.

It is very rare that we, the American public, are privileged to hear the truth coming from our elected or appointed officials, in either the Federal or local government. The American public has been, and is being bargained by the official opinions of the Government, whether fact or fiction; as the means of communication is almost completely monopolized by those who almost always (and particularly in times of crisis) favor the Government view. The press and periodicals who do offer a counterinterview have such limited means and circulation as to be rendered almost meaningless, and cannot possibly provide an effective balance to the "respectable press."

I am sure that there are many other people, like myself, who are appalled at the imperialistic posture which the United States has assumed, particularly since World War II. It is, of course, a pattern of interference and manipulation with the governments of sovereign nations (i.e., Cuba, Guatemala, Iran, Egypt, Laos, Vietnam, Burma, Indonesia, etc., and probably many more) that, at least in foreign affairs, justifies my characterization of this country. And, since there is the most intimate relationship between foreign and domestic affairs, I can only see a logical development in this country toward some kind of American brand of totalitarianism which certainly will have, in my opinion, many similarities with fascism. This is a frightening prospect for those of us who are concerned not only with the survival of humanity, but with the right of self-determination of the world's peoples, and their own economic, social, and cultural development.

America as a world power has assumed the most backward position (especially vis-a-vis the underdeveloped world) and, in my view is attempting to pattern the world so

as to protect American interests, which are, as we all know global, and will, to insure the protection of these interests, sacrifice any country, and risk even total war.

It is only with an enlightened and politically conscious public which is willing not only to hear and accept the truth about the role and interests of the United States in the world today, but which is not afraid, and indeed feels it necessary to act on the realization of this truth, and try to change the disastrous course which America is following today.

It is within this context that I again take this opportunity to thank you for the words which you spoke on August 5.

Sincerely yours,

NANCY RIES.

DURHAM, N.C.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It is with regret that I find myself writing to you to commend an action that should not have to be commended. One should not have to note as an exception the courage and strength that allowed a negative vote to the bill legalizing the President's actions in Vietnam. However, the situation being as it is, yourself and Senator GRUENING are among the few notes of clarity and sanity in American affairs. As long as you continue your present stands, the notion that our foreign affairs are not conducted with disinterest will continue to be injected into the news media, and people will speculate about the reality of world politics.

I have been unable to find material about the progress of the foreign aid bill in the local newspapers and I am puzzled as to the reasons behind some of your stands. Would you please send to me the relevant excerpts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

My wife has informed me that she too is a part of the WAYNE MORSE fan club of Durham, N.C., a small but growing group of people who respect integrity and responsibility in politics.

Yours sincerely,

SHELLEY BLUM.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.  
AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have read a recent pamphlet by the Ad Hoc Committee To End Intervention in Vietnam. They suggest that interested people send a message to you.

It is a confusion in aim which seems to have brought about this useless, inhuman, and thoroughly unjustifiable intrusion and slaughter in a country whose people and problems we (the United States) neither understand nor are apparently interested in.

Whether it may be a mistake politically and strategically to interfere in Vietnam (and it's becoming quite obvious that it certainly is a mistake to do it as we have done), is less important to me than the consideration that all foreign policy is implemented by agencies which are not governed by the will of the American people—that the American people are fed propaganda instead of facts—that the American people are thus taught the fallacious notion that it's better that they leave the fate of their country of their own bodies and souls in the hands of others.

You can see by my last sentence I have a facility for writing long, unintelligible sentences.

I can write short ones too. The condition of our country is reminiscent of pro-Fascist Germany. There is much ignorant, loose, hostility which could be manipulated into hatred of the unknown by a government dedicated to power politics.



I am 31 years old and have a 3-year-old daughter. Aside from not wanting her, my husband, and myself demolished in a short atomic war, I do not want her to bear the stain of guilt of belonging to the most irresponsible and immoral nation in the world.

There is no extra money at my disposal, and not a great deal of time. But—what can be done? What can I do?

What can I do to speed the departure of U.S. troops, CIA agents, and other experts from Vietnam as soon as possible?

Very truly yours,

MARTHA DURHAM.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Hon. W. L. MORSE.

U.S. Senator,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The purpose of this letter is twofold. (1) I would like to express my admiration for your wisdom and courage in your stand on Vietnam. (2) I wish to inquire whether you would accept an invitation to a meal, lunch or dinner, at your convenience when you will be visiting Berkeley.

Yesterday, one of our students at the University of California came to ask for my signature on an ad to be published in the San Francisco Chronicle. This proposed ad would contain quotations from your speeches on Vietnam and the expression of support on the part of the signers. It was a pleasure to sign the ad.

On this occasion the student in question (I do not remember his name) told me that, "at the invitation of his organization "Slate" you are expected to speak on our campus sometime in October. If so, you are likely to have a meal with your principal hosts, "Slate." However, it is just possible that we, a group of U.C. professors—your admirers, may have the pleasure of having you as our guest at the other main meal of the day. We shall feel very honored.

Today's Times carries an article about you under the title "Senator Nay-Sayer." While having the appearance of just another factual report, this article is about the highest praise that I have ever seen published. You certainly deserve it. I had a good laugh at your description of the Governor of Alabama. The enclosed copy of a circular letter sent to the university employees indicates that our attitude is similar to yours. Incidentally, on that occasion we collected for Dr. King more than \$4,000.

Affectionately yours,

J. NEYMAN.

MEDFORD, OREG.,  
August 12, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have wanted for some time to write and express my support of your position on our policy in Vietnam, and am ashamed of myself for not doing so before now.

You deserve our admiration and gratitude for taking what is, unfortunately, a lonely stand on this matter and I applaud your courage. I have felt for some time that the United States must seem to our allied and our adversaries to license herself to interfere in a manner which she would not tolerate in others. To put it bluntly, we seem to have a "holler than thou" attitude toward other nations which is, in my opinion, unworthy of us. A double standard should not prevail.

You have, I'm sure, received much adverse criticism of your actions and I wanted to add a few words of support.

With warm regards to you and Mrs. Morse.  
Sincerely,

MARJORY E. MADDEN.

PORTLAND, OREG.,  
August 17, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you very much for your reports. I enjoy receiving them, as information contained therein is most interesting and current with the topics of the day.

I want you to know that I agree with your stand concerning imports and the situation in the Far East.

Keep up your good work and with best wishes, I am,  
Cordially,

GEO. E. ROBINSON.

OKAIDGE, OREG.,  
August 17, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your report of August 12. I agree with you in all you say about the Tonkin Bay affair and our impossible position in southeast Asia.

My family and I have left the Republican Party. We cannot stomach the double-talk, the nonsense talk, the cynical effrontery to common good sense and the meaning of language as shown by their front men. The citizen's first loyalty is to principles, not to party. When a party shows me it has abandoned my principles, regardless of how they say it, I gladly leave it and look for the men that best reflect my views.

Respectfully yours,

BEN TWITCHELL AND FAMILY.

BRONX, N.Y.,  
August 12, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE:  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Speaking for my family, brothers, and sisters alike, thanks. Your courage and best of all correct stand against our country's sick policy viz-a-viz southeast Asia wins from us wholehearted and fully committed support. Your vote for sanity plus your outspoken voice, is I assure you heard and deeply felt here in New York. Our Senators too long silent will hear the people yet. I urge you not to go along with that fraud that states our people are 100 percent behind a policy which leads to senseless killings. Let those Senators who lack the people's will go along with war in Asia and you will see how fast the American people will catch up with our policy and vote those clowns out into the cold. You will no doubt get a lot of hate mail. When two men vote against a tide, they must expect to get wet. But stand nonetheless, for in the sun they will dry and the lies will as always sink back into the sea. Hit back with the hard truth, they print very little of what you say, that's a sign of their weakness. I would deeply appreciate being on your mailing list. Once more thanks from the hundreds of your supporters some silent some not. Also thanks from your opposition for they and we are still here breathing very heavily.

Yours for peace,

HAROLD CARLSON.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is comforting to know we have at least one Senator who is courageous and calls things as he sees them even if his views aren't popular.

Thank you, Senator.

MRS. WILL CALMAS.

LAKE WORTH, FLA.,  
August 10, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The people of Oregon are to be admired for electing to office people like you and Governor Hatfield.

Congratulations on your courageous, outspoken stand with regard to our recent Vietnam crisis. I am in total agreement with your position.

Respectfully yours,

IDA R. FEITELBERG.

KETTERING, OHIO,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations and thanks for your courageous stand on the Vietnam action and Senate resolution.

I had just finished your article on Vietnam in the Progressive and was especially pleased to find your position completely consistent with the attitudes expressed in the article.

Your attitude that the United States cannot be a moral force in the world today unless we act in a moral manner appears to be in a decided minority.

Perhaps this note will offer some little encouragement that not all Americans have lost their desire for justice.

Very truly yours,

RAY A. VAN HORN.

CHICAGO AREA COMMITTEE ON SANE  
NUCLEAR POLICY,  
Chicago, Ill., August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We want to express our deep respect and admiration to you for your principled stand opposing the congressional resolution on Vietnam giving President Johnson extraordinary powers. We recognize the steadfast courage required in that moment of hysterical, unthinking patriotism.

You have reason to be proud of your position. We, of course, are very, very proud of you.

Respectfully,

MORTON W. RYWECK,  
Executive Director.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
May 24, 1963.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: This is in connection with the current developments in the South, including the arrests of large numbers of youngsters, their suspension or dismissal from schools, the tricks used to prevent Negroes from voting, and the prospect of the Governor of a State personally barring a few Negro students from a university entrance. These developments appear disgusting to us and we feel compelled to do something about them.

We wish to contribute money to help the young generation of Negroes in their struggle to attain the status of citizens of the United States of America. To take care of bonds, legal expenses and the many other expenses inevitably involved they must have money—much more money than can come from their own community. If you are in sympathy, we ask you to contribute by sending your check to J. Neyman, 212 Amherst Avenue, Berkeley, Calif.

Your check should be made payable to: Southern Christian Leadership Conference (M. L. King's organization).

Yours sincerely,

David Blackwell, Owen Chamberlain,  
Milton Chernin, Lucien Le Cam,  
Benson Mates, J. Neyman, Herbert Robbins,  
R.M. Robinson, E.L. Scott, Kenneth Stampf, George Stewart.

LARCHMONT, N.Y.,  
July 9, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Probably you receive a lot of correspondence and therefore I only write you a short note to tell you that I admire your courage and stand up to protest against the attack of U.S. forces against North Vietnam. I know it was in retaliation of the shooting in the Gulf of Tonkin but our attack went much too far and might have had very serious consequences.



My wife joins me in telling you that we fully agree with your standpoint. Such a pity we cannot vote for you.

Yours very truly,

M. SLUIS.

AUGUST 10, 1964.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: You and Senator GRUENING deserve the grateful plaudit of those Americans who question the wisdom of our actions in Vietnam—past and present.

One can only wish that there were more men in the Senate who shared with you the conviction, and the courage to express it, that our course is wrong no matter how one looks at it—and that we must work for a negotiated settlement sooner rather than later.

Very truly yours,

HOPE SHAPIRO.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We have just read your article in the progressive and heard of your speech in the Senate on the "support the President" resolution.

We would like to express our wholehearted support for your views in both instances. Please consider this a support of Senator GRUENING also.

Sincerely,

WARREN LEVINSON, M.D.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am in full agreement with the stand you have taken in regard to our position in southeast Asia, and deeply respect your courage and integrity. I have written to Senators KUCHEL and FULBRIGHT to convey to them my feelings, and have urged that they also support the stand you have taken. If the Government is truly the voice of the people, then let the people be heard. Actions speak louder than words. Let our Government take some positive action in favor of a reduction of war, not an escalation of war.

I would feel a much greater pride in my Government if collectively it possessed the same high degree of integrity that you do. Thank you, for giving me something to be proud of.

Sincerely,

Mrs. NANCY E. RUHL.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing because I like your views on Vietnam. From other things I have read, people I have talked to, and from other things the United States has done in foreign countries, I am inclined to agree with you. If you were not telling what you thought was the truth I could not see any motive for it—it probably is an unpopular move to take—thus I am proud of you, and think you must have some information that the newspapers do not generally say. If you or your secretary have time, could you please inform me a little of this information? (Bad sentence structure but you aren't my English teacher) or tell me your source?

Thank you very much.

A registered voter,

PATRICIA SILBERT.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.,  
August 12, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: It made me feel proud that there was one Member in the Congress who stood up and said that we (the United States) also were guilty of aggression in the Vietnam conflict.

Not all Americans feel that this is the way to have peace and not all Americans are 100 percent solidly behind the President in this venture.

I want to congratulate you on your courage to say what you did, because I am not proud to be an American today. Keep up your courage and speak out loud and strong always.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. ANN RADU.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SENATOR: In behalf of over 2,000 members of the Los Angeles Jewish Cultural and Fraternal Clubs, we wish to convey to you our heartfelt appreciation and full endorsement on your stand in southeast Asia. We fully endorse your statement "The United States has much to lose and little to gain by continuing its unilateral military action in southeast Asia, unsanctioned by the United Nations and unaccompanied by allies."

We wish to add that your voice for peace will be remembered in this country, and echoed throughout the world, bringing new hope to those living under guns now, and those who still hope for a peaceful solution of problems through the use of the United Nations instead of bombs and destroyers.

We wish you good health and a long life, so that, you may continue in your fight for life and happiness for us and for the world.

Respectfully yours,

NATHAN GARFIELD,  
President.  
SARAH GILBERT,  
Secretary.

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.,  
August 8, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In order not to take up too much of your valuable time I shall be brief.

This is to thank you from the bottom of my heart for having a Senator like you in our troubled country. I am, of course, referring to your courageous stand in the North Vietnam matter. But there were numerous other occasions on which you showed an attitude that inspired us with confidence in the future of the United States. Incidentally I had the privilege to hear your heart-to-heart talk on the preservation of our natural resources.

May God give you strength to carry on your noble cause unflinchingly. I pray that more of our representatives will be enlightened and talk and act accordingly, so that the name of our country will not go down in shame in history.

Please do not bother to answer this letter. I hold you in great admiration and esteem, dear Senator.

Sincerely,

OTTO HOKE, M.D.

ELK RIVER, MINN.,  
August 10, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend you for your stand on the Vietnam situation, not only for your vote against giving the President unlimited powers to wage war, but on your stand on this thing all along. In the face of almost unanimous opposition by members of both parties, your stand is simply heroic.

When the truth of this thing comes out, and I predict that it will not be long in coming, both you and Senator GRUENING will stand out as the only true statesmen in the U.S. Senate. I am sending a carbon copy of this letter to Senator GRUENING and informing the President, through Ralph Dungan, of my sentiments in the Vietnam affair and my praise of you and Senator GRUENING.

With kind regards to both you and Senator GRUENING.

BERYL M. SEDERBERG.

MAMARONECK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your brave position on the current Vietnam crisis. As a mother of three young girls, I worry about the world—if there will be a world—that they will grow up into. Thank you for them. The alternatives of a military approach seem to be: one, either a long, costly, futile war with a dreadful loss of life and suffering, or two, escalation into a major war igniting World War III.

It seems to me, at this point the only sane solution is to reconvene the Geneva Conference with the United States and China participating, and to redefine the meaning of neutralization of southeast Asia. In addition, new guarantees—perhaps a United Nations observer force—should be worked out to implement agreements.

I would be most grateful for a copy of the complete statement you made yesterday. Again, my heartfelt thanks—

Sincerely,

WESLEY STROMBERG.

P.S.—I have also written the President of my deep concern.

EXETER, N.H.,  
August 6, 1964

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: As an admirer of the late Bob LaFollette, I am very interested in the ways you have sought to carry on his tradition. Today I am concerned about the situation in southeast Asia.

The New York Times reported on August 6, 1964, page 8, that you told the Senate that South Vietnamese naval vessels bombarded two North Vietnamese islands within 3 to 6 miles of the North Vietnam coast before the attacks on the U.S. destroyers. It reported that you said that U.S. naval vessels were patrolling nearby during the attack. It said that you cited newspaper reports as your source.

I have not seen such newspaper reports, but I would greatly appreciate it if you could direct me to your source.

Please send me any information you can. We must know the truth.

Best wishes,

EUGENE A. MANNING.

HONORABLE (I mean that) SIR: Thank you for having the only sane voice on the southeast Asia question.

Would it be possible to have copies of your remarks of the last few days?

Respectfully,

H. J. OETTINGER.

MOUNT LAWLEY, W.A., AUSTRALIA,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Just a note to say how much you are admired for your statement regarding the action in North Vietnam. I am very proud to be an American when you are in the Senate—when anyone can speak the truth.

It is very difficult to decide what action the Nation should take, but it must not rationalize, it must be aware of the truth in de-



termining the course to take. How quickly forgotten is the reaction to Russian forces in Cuba—further from the United States than the Navy is from North Vietnam.

As long as you keep your mind and spirit open, act and speak the truth, you will be performing your highest function as a man.  
Sincerely,

MARCO McCLINTOCK,  
SARATOGA, CALIF.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept my expression of appreciation for your courage and integrity in the Senate debate on the President's proposed resolution over Vietnam. It is regrettable that you have to carry this heavy load almost alone, but your record indicates that you will not be easily swayed from what you believe to be true.

Cordially yours,

HARRY MARGOLIS.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you so much for your strong and clear statement on the real issues involved in the Vietnam crisis. Rather than blindly following the rallying call for swift "counter-aggression to preserve peace," you emphasized the basic issues of world peace and morality. Also, you brought to the attention of the American people the fact that quite possibly we helped to provoke the whole recent incident by stationing our Navy's boats as a cover for South Vietnamese naval raids on the North Vietnamese coast. This thought puts the whole situation in a very different perspective.

Americans everywhere should be grateful for your courage in revealing the truth to the world and bringing out the necessity for peace and negotiation instead of simply going along with majority opinion.

Sincerely yours,

Laurie Appell.

BRONX, N.Y.,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are glad that you had the courage and wisdom to vote against the joint congressional resolution giving the President power to take "all necessary measures to repel attack and prevent aggression in southeast Asia." We have been heartened by your stand against further involvement there and in support of our getting out of southeast Asia.

We believe we can better stop communism by making democracy work even better in this country, and by offering technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries through such agencies as the United Nations and the Peace Corps. Let us always seek to remove the causes of war and build the framework of peace. Thank you for your efforts.

Yours truly,

Mrs. VIRGINIA ISECKE,  
WILLIAM ISECKE,  
JOHN ISECKE.

MODESTO, CALIF.,  
August 13, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to congratulate you on your courageous stand against the Johnson administration in its conduct of the war in Vietnam.

I heard your speech on TV and thought that your analysis of the problem there to be superb, i.e. (We are trying to solve an economic and political problem by exclusively military means.)

I hope you continue your fight for sanity in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

HOWARD TEN BRINK.

AUGUST 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This clipping appeared in the Atlanta Journal today. This newspaper does not speak for the white citizens of Atlanta.

As for myself—keep up the good work. I agree with you 100 percent.

CARL AMERSON,

A White Democrat for Goldwater.

P.S.—It took a stupid jerk to write something like this:

[From the Atlanta Journal, August 1964]

MORSE ON VIETNAM

Oregon is a far and distant place from where we sit and we are not qualified to assess the streak of madness in that State which keeps WAYNE MORSE in the Senate.

While the country rushed out a strong support for President Johnson in the retaliatory air strikes against North Vietnam, Senator MORSE had other sentiments.

He roundly damned the President for his stand and screamed to high Heaven because of a resolution in Congress to back the President.

In his tirade he charged that the United States had been just as much a provocateur in South Vietnam as had North Vietnam; that this country had violated the United Nations Charter and the Geneva accord; and that a U.S. policy of trying to impose a government of its own choosing "upon a segment of the old colony of Indochina has caught up with us."

The Senator makes no comment on the desperate need for the war in South Vietnam to be won: Defeat ultimately means the loss of southeast Asia to the Reds.

We can't explain the madness in Oregon which sends Mr. MORSE to the Senate but we think we know what is wrong with the man's thinking. We recall it has been said that the poor fellow literally was kicked in the head by a horse when he was young.

TRACY, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to thank you for your courageous stand on opposing President Johnson's reprisal activities in Vietnam. I also commend your public statement of opposition to U.S. intervention in South Vietnam as it appeared in the article "Humpty Dumpty in Vietnam" in the August 1964, Progressive. Such sincere opposition to the administration's foreign policy cannot but help to guide public opinion to a saner view of U.S. involvement.

Sincerely,

NAOMI RIPPIN.

WICHITA, KANS.,  
August 12, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: As a longtime admirer of yours I want to express to you my appreciation for your courageous opposition to the recent congressional resolution supporting President Johnson's policy in southeast Asia. Sadly I must confess that I am appallingly ignorant of the real situation in that part of the world, and this in spite of the fact that I read the Sunday edition of the New York Times religiously. Would you kindly send me a copy of your remarks on this issue?

Once again let me say that the people of this country can be grateful for men such as you in the U.S. Senate. When I saw you interviewed on television last week, I remarked to my wife, "He is like one of Cicero's 'conscript fathers.' There is something Roman and stoic in his integrity."

Sincerely,

JOHN MITCHELL.

CHAMPAIGN, ILL.,

August 10, 1964.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It requires great moral courage to stand alone against an emotion swept crowd or to adopt an unpopular stand.

Years ago, one of the first "modernistic" paintings I ever saw was entitled "The Brave Are Lonely." It made quite an impression on me.

Because I am afraid that just now you may be feeling lonely and somewhat like the small boy who said, "Nobody loves me; I'm going out in the garden and eat worms," I am writing this to say that I think you are right about Vietnam, and I wish your suggested policy would be adopted.

I think the Republicans are advocating all these reckless "get tough" policies purposely to try to get us into war while the Democrats are in power so they can again pin the label "war party" on us.

Good luck and more power to you.

An Illinois admirer and supporter,

DOROTHY C. WILLCOXEN.

DEVILS LAKE, N. DAK.,

August 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my appreciation of your efforts in the behalf of the policy in Vietnam. There are other Senators who were elected because of their liberal policies in regard to peace, and in support of taking our difficulties to the United Nations who have kept silent.

I don't know why they are silent. Perhaps it is that they know the power of our war machine—they want more missile bases and so forth—they're afraid of unpopular action—worried about their bread and butter.

Thanks, and more power to you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. LILLIAN LEE.

AFRICAN STUDIES CENTER, UCLA,

Los Angeles Calif., August 12, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: As best as I have been able to piece together a picture of events in Vietnam from various American and European news media, I have come to the conclusion that the South Vietnam government is not being threatened primarily by external aggression, but rather by internal civil war which is being carried out by people who have legitimate political grievances and who have social, economic, and political aims which could be (though which would not necessarily be) beneficial to the people of Vietnam as a whole.

I strongly support the minority (at present) position of Senators MORSE and GRUENING that the United States should disengage itself from Vietnam as soon as possible.

Respectfully yours,

PAUL NEWMAN,

Peace Corps Volunteer in Nigeria, 1961-63.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to commend you on your courageous stand on the Vietnam crisis in Congress. It is extremely important that this mess be straightened out as soon as possible in order to insure a secure peace in the world and to ease tension that is gaining momentum in our world.

I am with you all the way—keep up the good work.

Sincerely yours,

MYRA COODLEY.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to commend and thank you for your vote on the Vietnam resolution. Your firm stand on this issue



from the beginning has been one of high principle and courage—qualities which the vote showed have become almost nonexistent in our elected representatives.

Be assured that you have a great body of opinion behind you—far beyond that reflected by the vote. Tragically, it is largely silent. May we hope that your voice of leadership will loosen these fearful, silent voices.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. C. H. DORSEY.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
August 12, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I appreciate your firm stand on Vietnam and am in complete agreement with you. I am taking the time to say so because courage is a lonely road.

Our policy in Vietnam is immoral and I have written the President to say so.

Very truly yours,

LOLA BOSWELL.

UKIAH, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It seems safe to assume that you are receiving quite a few outraged letters from indignant "patriots"; therefore I feel that those who admire your lonely and courageous stand should not be silent.

I suppose the world will not change until a sufficient number of people attain to a level of consciousness where they can see and not feel threatened by an opponent's point of view and where they can discard self-righteous rationalizations of their own motives. It would be truly inspiring to see our own country lead the way toward that new maturity.

In the meantime we owe a debt of gratitude to lonely voices like yours for opposing a resolution to give one man the power to dispose over 190 million lives.

May you long keep your role as a Senate gadfly, ready to puncture self-righteousness, smugness, complacency and that national pride which has been the cause of all wars throughout history.

Very truly yours,

GERTRUDE ROBERTS.

DOWNSVIEW, ONTARIO,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My husband and I, a U.S. citizen now resident in Canada, support and approve your views re U.S. interference in foreign matters—specifically, Vietnam.

Cheers for your courage to express your convictions.

Sincerely yours,

JEAN PAPERICK.

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.,  
August 11, 1964.

The Honorable Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am 21, a senior in political science, and campaign coordinator of the San Fernando Valley State College Young Democrats Club.

Please be reassured that you have the undaunted support and respect of this un-intimidated writer. I still refuse to believe that the presence of our military in southeast Asia will do anything but perpetuate an unpopular and worthless war which we have no business participating in.

Our politicians have proposed everything except ending our part in this war. Many others herewith join me in imploring you to

continue your fight against this wanton warmongering.

Sincerely wishing you my best regards,  
ALAN M. GOLDSMITH.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: Fifty years ago this month the arrogant, power-drunk rulers of Europe plunged the world into war. The untold destruction, death, misery and the repercussions are yet with us.

Revolutions swept the world, old dynasties disappeared, social, political, moral collapse. It was a terrible thing they did in August 1914.

They were the extremists of their time, the jingoists. The people wanted peace. They, the rulers, spoke of national pride and position etc., just as now.

We must tell the people the whole truth, Senator.

More later.

Respectfully,

JOHN SEIDL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,  
Chicago, Ill., August 13, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to express my sympathy and complete agreement with your stand on the recent Vietnamese crisis. It is a pleasure to see one voice in the Senate symbolizing the courage and conviction necessary to express an objective view of this situation.

Please, again, accept my congratulations.

Respectfully yours,

MATTHEW H. NITECKI,  
Curator.

LOS ALTOS, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: This is not a letter from a professional letterwriter, in fact, I have never written a letter to the editor, the President or any public official, but I feel that the time has come that I must join you in speaking one's mind and to let you know that you're not alone in this and many other unpopular causes \* \* \* there have been many times before this when I thought I should write to recommend you for your actions. But it seems there is a noisy minority that sounds like a majority until an individual like myself feels that perhaps he is all alone \* \* \* maybe just a crank, but I feel that my rejection of President Johnson's action is justified.

To begin with, I tried on several occasions to hear on the radio what it was you said, in full, but I have only been given short lines, but never your full comment. It seems that the American press should see to it that when a minority opinion is expressed, they should take care to see, at least, that minority opinion is given a full report so that people may see both sides of an issue to draw an opinion. If both Houses of Congress give unanimous support to Johnson, I hope they had more information that I have been able to glean from my local newspapers. The facts I don't know are:

1. What were the American destroyers doing in that area? I'm willing to accept that American merchant ships may go wherever their business takes them into any international waters, and that men-of-war may go with them if they have been attacked in the normal process of their business, but I cannot accept that ships of war may go wherever they please. It seems that their moves

should be controlled by the discretion of what is the state of apprehension they may cause, the tensions of any given area and what their appearance might cause. I believe that if 3 to 12 miles is the limit of commercial boats, then perhaps we should have 300 to 400 miles for the modern ships-of-war with missiles, etc.

2. Just exactly where were those ships when attacked? I would like to see on a true scale map just exactly where they were so that it overcomes these rough drawings that show a ship that is 60 miles long sitting innocently in the center of a bay only 140 miles wide.

3. How and why did we arrive at a decision to send those ships in that area? Did it have anything to do with Khanh's agitation to invade the North? It has always appeared to me that Syngman Rhee agitated the North into an attack on the South especially after he had received Dulles' unqualified support \* \* \* It is also worthwhile to note that Rhee had lost, or his party had lost, the elections about 3 or 4 weeks before the fight had broken out.

4. Was President Johnson being motivated by the Goldwater attack on the administration as "being too soft," with the net affect that Johnson becomes too tough \* \* \* he certainly took the wind out of GOLDWATER's sails by that blast.

5. Was it necessary to make 63 sorties? It seems that it would have been bad enough to have destroyed two PT boats for having the insolence of making a pass at a destroyer. Who cares if they want to say we are a "paper tiger." We know what we are \* \* \* or do we? It seems that we are trying to prove something else. I surely wish I knew what it was.

6. How many lives were destroyed by our bombs? No estimates were given. Neither have I read of any reports of it \* \* \* other than American, I mean. (This reminds me of when Britain bombed Egypt: all I can ever remember reading was all the military installations being destroyed but apparently without any casualties.)

7. Is there any similarity between what the Japanese Army and Navy and government leaders did to the Japanese people? They created situations which the Japanese Diet nearly overwhelmingly approved. Then a new situation, and then another until in the mounting crisis all opposition had to be removed so that before they entered into an all-out war, they had a rubberstamp Diet.

8. Why is it that the military, or the CIA, or the State Department or somewhere along the line there seems to be either bad coordination or duplicity? I can't help but think of the U-2 incident. It was very untimely from my point of view \* \* \* but perhaps not to someone else's. Has anyone ever uncovered the facts as to who gave the order for Powers to fly during that period? Everyone knew that large risks were taken (outside of the moral question) then why did they allow him or order him to fly when Eisenhower was going to the summit meeting which we are still yet avoiding. I sometimes wonder if this wasn't deliberate planning along the line somewhere because it did avoid a summit even yet.

Please excuse all these questions, but I would surely like to be informed as to what goes. I just don't feel that I'm getting all the facts because things just don't make sense. Could you help by directing me to the right sources to read so that I might be a better informed citizen? If they are not available to the public, then surely a congressional Committee should undertake the job of putting together the facts. I'm really serious about this question \* \* \* I'm like Will Rogers: "I only know what I read in the newspapers."



You may not agree with some of the answers I propose, but until I can get better facts, I can only surmise. Nevertheless, I still want to say that I compare you with a few of those brave souls in this world who are willing to stand up and be counted \* \* \* like those rare few who stood up against Hitler, the Japanese police, Stalin and his forces of security. May God bless you and your kind.

Very sincerely,

HAROLD H. ALLDIS.

P.S.—I had really planned to get involved in politics this year because I feel that GOLDWATER has alerted me to how far we have drifted, so that now, even the John Birch Society has become acceptable. But Johnson's excessive action has really confused me. If this is the kind of action I wanted, I would vote for GOLDWATER. Please don't let the Democrats be a "me too—but better" proposition. Stand for the direct opposite of GOLDWATER and give the American people a chance to vote on something. Johnson's action causes me to fear the worst: Perhaps GOLDWATER has a better grasp of the American voters mind, fears, and prejudice than I do. Maybe I am just a crank or a nonconformist or just a fuzzyheaded idealist or maybe a part of all these things, but I do hope I have the chance to vote on the inward feelings I have about civil rights and fairplay at home and abroad. I pray that the Democrats might provide that this year.

LEMONT, ILL.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Although I have already wired you two congratulatory messages after having seen you on television and admired your courageous stand, I am adding further heartfelt gratitude to you here.

I hope you can spare a moment to read the enclosed copy, my letter to the Portland Oregonian editor. I have sent a copy of a similar letter to the Chicago Tribune to Senators FULBRIGHT and DOUGLAS.

Gratefully yours,

MARY PHILLIPS.

LEMONT, ILL.,  
August 7, 1964.

EDITOR,  
The Peoples Own Corner,  
Portland Oregonian,  
Portland, Oreg.

SIR: A widely quoted observation that "Truth is the first casualty of war," should have been pondered by our Government and a thorough investigation made to determine whether it was North or South Vietnamese forces which attacked our naval vessels in the Tonkin Gulf.

Seymour Topping reported from Saigon (Chicago's American, August 5), that rumors of a coup d'etat were circulating there: "U.S. officials were concerned about the political deterioration in Saigon. Unrest in the capital was attributed more to a clash of rival political and military personalities than to pressure from Communist Vietcong insurgents."

In recent weeks numerous reports have come from Vietnam that high placed military and political leaders were hostile to Khanh and wanted to get rid of him. Is it not possible that one of these factions might have plotted the attack on the *Mad-dox* in the hope that an expanded war would result and that the added turmoil would help them to unseat Khanh? Or on the other hand, Khanh himself might have been the perpetrator of the crime in the belief that expanded war would help him to hold on.

There are so many possibilities that we were misinformed, I consider it a tragic error

that we did not hold our fire. Both sides should have been heard in the United Nations Security Council before we opened fire.

I am deeply grateful for the courageous stand of the Honorable Senator from Oregon, WAYNE MORSE, against expansion of the war. I congratulate all Oregonians on their election of this great statesman. We need more like him.

Very sincerely yours,

MARY PHILLIPS.

LAKESIDE, OHIO,  
August 7, 1964.

Whereas we have for some time viewed with deep concern the increasing involvement of American troops in the war in Vietnam; and

Whereas we feel that the expansion of Communist influence in this area is being abetted rather than curbed by the present military action; and

Whereas we are convinced that the crisis in this area must ultimately be resolved around the conference table:

Therefore, we Unitarian-Universalists whose names appear below and who are attending the Ohio-Meadville District's Summer Institute at Lakeside, Ohio, respectfully urge our Congressmen to do all in their power: (1) to prevent the further escalation of the military action in Vietnam and southeast Asia and (2) to seek means of settling this crisis by means of conference.

Clarence Hunter, Worthington, Ohio.

Hannah Gall, Erie, Pa.

Carole Kirby, Bowling Green, Ohio.

Keith L. Smith, Charleston, W. Va.

R. F. Finston, Worthington, Ohio.

Wave A. Hunter, Worthington, Ohio.

Lucy Perry Buchanan, Columbus, Ohio.

Richard S. Gilbert, Charleston, W. Va.

Hans C. Hoornstra, Cleveland, Ohio.

David S. Gifford, Columbus, Ohio.

Bonita M. Post, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dorothy K. Gifford, Columbus, Ohio.

Ruth C. Achenbach, Columbus, Ohio.

Alice Mae Richards, Akron, Ohio.

Helen H. Dick, Belpre, Ohio.

Nancy C. Taylor, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mary Silverman, Berea, Ohio.

Victor Silverman, Berea, Ohio.

Lyman Achenbach, Columbus, Ohio.

Fay P. Hoornstra, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dorothea A. Strong, Allison Park, Pa.

Marion Henry, Erie, Pa.

Donna Childers, Columbus, Ohio.

Anna Carolyn Veith, Westlake, Ohio.

Carol F. Schultz, Vienna, Ohio.

John A. Childers, Columbus, Ohio.

Ben Kjlchn, Kent, Ohio.

Barbara Stark, Tipton, Ga.

Kenneth S. Stark, Tipton, Ga.

Robert C. Shepard, Stow, Ohio.

Patricia S. Bieber, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dorothy M. Austin, Bay Village, Ohio.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I would like to voice my support for your stand taken recently in opposition to increased U.S. military action in southeast Asia.

It is becoming more and more apparent that the United States is headed toward a policy of rejecting negotiation and the only sensible answer to the problems of southeast Asia, neutralization of the entire area. It seems we would rather spend enormous sums of money on military operations under the banner of "victory in South Vietnam" but whose efforts result only in more bodies strewn about the South Vietnam countryside and whose ultimate result may be another Korea, in a much more explosive international atmosphere.

The U.S. cannot go on equating neutraliza-

tion of southeast Asia with loss of the area to the Communists. This attitude completely eliminates the possibility of a lasting and peaceful answer to southeast Asia's problems.

It is my opinion that the only answer to the conflict in Vietnam is a plan such as that favored in most European countries, that is neutralization not only of Vietnam but of the entire southeast Asia area. Surely all parties involved could reach some sort of acceptable agreement if the United States would put its support behind such a proposal. I sincerely hope you will continue your efforts to push our southeast Asian policy in a more sensible direction.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM DOMBROWSKI.

NAPA, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Bless you. Just when I am about to give up on the integrity of our country's posture in this troubled world your clear voice rings out and restores some of the national self-respect I keep losing.

Not that I have much hope. Why must we always wage peace with our friends rather than our adversaries? My father used to quote some one who said "As effective as to strike the sky with a rod of smoke." American citizens owe you a heavy debt of gratitude for your always forthright devotion to truth for the truth's sake.

Sincerely,

LOUISE SCHULZE.

ATLANTA, GA.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Although we are not residents of your home State of Oregon my wife and I would like to extend to you our very deep appreciation for your courage in speaking out so forthrightly in the present crisis concerning southeast Asia. Your voice has been among the few that have been raised against our highly dangerous policy that appears to be leading towards full scale war. Especially dreadful in the situation is the administration's tendency to cope with the Goldwater problem by giving in to just a little bit of Goldwaterism in foreign policy. President Johnson, even if he would wish to, is not likely to win a contest with the Republican candidate as to who can adopt a more belligerent stance. The shame of it is that there is good reason to believe that our unilateral commitments in Vietnam are distinctly unpopular and that the country really would listen to an approach geared to finding a peaceful solution to the conflict. In any event it is most encouraging to know that some Members of the Senate are exerting leadership in leading us to deal with this problem in rational, constructive terms.

I would very appreciate your having sent on to us available copies of some of your recent Senate statements dealing with the Vietnam problem.

With many thanks for your brave efforts for peace.

Sincerely yours,

HERBERT SHAPIRO.

FREDERICK, MD.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your position on the activities of the U.S. military in South Vietnam, as I understand it from TV newscasts, is that the U.S. military should not be there; that the United States is committing military provocation in a situation which is economic



and political. You would have the United States get out of Vietnam.

The argument for U.S. action in Vietnam is based on the assumption (presumption?) of military activity in South Vietnam on the part of North Vietnam. I do not know if the "Vietcong" are South Vietnamese rebels or are North Vietnamese; whether the North Vietnamese inspired a rebellion in the lower country by sending in "subversives" or organized and/or staffed rebel forces or neither of these; whether or not the people, the "peasants," of South Vietnam favor the Saigon or local governments and system or favor Communist control.

I do not know how to judge the Vietnamese situation because I do not know the facts. I have only news reports and commentators' views to go on. Your views, I feel, are based not on anti-Communist prejudice, but on interpretation of facts and rights of nations and peoples.

I ask you to supply me, if convenient, with the salient facts on the Vietnam problem or to tell me where I might find them.

I request this information not as a constituent, but as an American concerned with U.S. foreign policy.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT W. BUTLER.

RICHMOND, VA.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your office has a request for the pages from CONGRESSIONAL RECORD containing your remarks concerning your efforts to reduce current foreign aid appropriations. But I now must make another request. Will you see that I get for my private library, the pages of the RECORD containing the remarks you will make tomorrow about the "Resolution" on this Vietnam (North) action we are fooling with, so very far out of U.N. charter.

Thanking you very much for your kindness, I am,

Respectfully,

LESTER H. KYLE,  
Lieutenant Colonel, A.U.S. (Retired).

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Although I do not believe I agree with your point of view on our involvement in southeast Asia, I cannot help but agree that our presence inside a bay surrounded by Communist controlled countries was provoking (one needs only to think of our response to the Cuban threat and Cuba is not in the Gulf of Mexico, but more than 90 miles out to sea toward the ocean). Be that as it may, I would like to congratulate you for your courage in presenting dissenting views to our national policy at a time when it is most difficult.

If your office has copies of your speeches on Vietnam readily available, my wife and I would like very much to receive copies of the same.

Sincerely yours,

MICHAEL B. DANTZ.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is reassuring to me to know that we have at least one voice of reason in the Government today. I greatly admire the stand that you have taken in current issues both on national and international affairs, and especially on the latest crises concerning North Vietnam.

Each day I become more alarmed and frightened by the actions and attitudes of our leaders in the Government. We live in such perilous times and yet it seems that people are motivated more and more by their own political futures.

I have great admiration for the stand that you take because I believe that you are one of the very few persons in the Government who speaks for sanity.

Sincerely yours,

GLADYS M. BARR.

MOUNT HOLLYWOOD  
CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,  
Los Angeles, Calif., August 10, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON: We are troubled about the bombing of Vietnam. The fact that we are right, in a strict interpretation of international law, makes us no less troubled. We think the central fact is, our country is interfering in the internal affairs of North and South Vietnam, and opposing communism does not justify it. Let's aid in neutralizing that area in the same way that Egypt and India and Yugoslavia and Austria are neutralized; and then let's get our troops and Navy out of there.

Respectfully yours,

GRACE BOWMAN,

Secretary, Social Action Committee.

P.S.—We think it probable that in years to come the foreign policy dissent of Senators MORSE, FULBRIGHT, and GRUENING will be praised as voices of wisdom.

THE COMMITTEE.

(Copies to Senators MORSE, FULBRIGHT,  
GRUENING.)

BRYN MAWR, PA.,  
August 13, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing in appreciation of your forthright refusal to vote for the "predated declaration of war." This business of getting Congress to underwrite a policy in the midst of a "crisis" is a kind of bullying that ought to be shown up for what it is.

Since there is so little editorial support for even the slightest questioning of our position in Vietnam, all of us who loathe finding our Government pursuing a course of action ludicrously indefensible on moral, legal, and pragmatic grounds, all of us owe a debt to you as the only man in public life who calls attention to the fact that our policy in southeast Asia is being ghost-written by John Foster Dulles and is the sibling of "massive retaliation," "agonizing reappraisal" and going to "the brink." I am fiercely partisan in this matter: Why should Democrats not demand something better than a watered down version of Goldwaterism?

I have written urging Senator CLARK to support you in calling for a redefinition of our policy, or at least of our political aims in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

ANN BERTHOFF

(An old admirer, since the day you gave our commencement address, Cornell College, 1945.)

P.S. The Christian Science Monitor (which supports not uncritically our efforts in Vietnam) prints today (August 13) an excerpt from the London Observer questioning our policy on two very interesting grounds. My guess is that they would be delighted to print a comment of yours on this analysis.

"U.S. POLICY IN VIETNAM

"What is so worrying about American policy in South Vietnam is not so much its present militancy—which is politically and

diplomatically understandable—but its apparent failure to consider ways of extricating the United States from a basically untenable position. Seen as an attempt to achieve a better negotiating position, the U.S. policy make sense. But seen as an attempt to win a righteous war, it is frankly alarming. Yet this is how it is being presented to the American people, whatever the private reservations of some of the policy-makers.

"There is a further reason for disquiet. America's militancy has increased in proportion to Russia's withdrawal from the scene in southeast Asia. The administration no doubt calculates that, without the backing of Russia, China is in no position to risk upgrading the war in South Vietnam from a guerrilla struggle to a full-scale conflict—in which her lack of modern arms, let alone nuclear weapons, would put her at a severe disadvantage.

"But, no matter how much Mr. Khrushchev might secretly want to see China humiliated, could Russia afford to let this happen? If she did, China's thesis—that Khrushchev is simply another white-skinned imperialist, no better than the capitalists of Wall Street—would appear to be vindicated. And China's position among the Communist Parties of the whole world, for whose allegiance Moscow and Peiping are contesting, would be immeasurably strengthened.

"It should be the aim of American foreign policy to avoid putting the Soviet Union into such a position. Russia's partial disengagement from southeast Asia may on the face of it, have given American greater freedom of maneuver—though it may also have weakened a restraining force in that part of the world. But, unless that freedom is used with great discretion, Washington could yet force the Russians to change their policies and hand an unexpected victory to Peiping.—The Observer (London)."

Since the State Department seeks to identify "neutralization" as De Gaulle's "sour grapes," I think it is vital for there to be given wide publicity to any statement which makes negotiation feasible, a realistic approach and just "humiliating withdrawal."

OAK PARK, ILL.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator MORSE, of Oregon,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to thank you and praise you for your vote against President Johnson's resolution of last Friday.

What a tragedy to see a great nation like the United States of America so misled that such a resolution would be accepted and approved with only two dissenting votes. You should be proud to be one of those dissenters. May you be richly rewarded.

My best wishes for your continued success and my deepest hopes for your growing influence in the days to come.

Sincerely,

HELEN R. LAUGHLIN.

PONTIAC, MICH.,  
August 13, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to state in a few words, I thoroughly agree with you on the Vietnam policy and I say there are only a few who have the courage to stand up and speak for all to hear.

I hope there will be more like yourself, sir.

Sincerely,

Mrs. LETTY SPOCK.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Once again, may I commend you and offer my support for your



clear and sane views on your southeast Asia policy.

Your criticism of our policy on South Vietnam and your constant warnings that the continued presence of our troops in that country will plunge us into a situation from which we will be unable to extricate ourselves is, unfortunately, fast becoming an accurate prediction. Yet we continue in the role of provocateur.

Congratulations for your vote against a "predated declaration of war." Why more of your colleagues were not willing to cast their vote against this resolution is difficult for me to understand. But at least the courage of you and Senator GRUENING is encouraging.

Yours very truly,

VIRGINIA KAHN.

LEMON GROVE, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is heart warming to us all to hear you speak out so clearly in this situation of South Vietnam—we have never had any business there—any more than we had in support of Rhee, Battista, or Chang Kai-shek. We need people like you in the Senate who think freshly and with integrity and who have the courage to express themselves.

Thank you.

Mrs. OLIVIA W. DAVIS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: When the history of the sordid episode in southeast Asia is written, you and Senator GRUENING will be the only men in Congress who will stand out as fighters against the cynical politics which has made this terrible situation possible.

Sincerely,

THOMAS AMNEUS.

CRESWELL, OREG.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The cause of world law is very much in your debt because of your courageous stand on the Vietnam action.

In an hour of increasing conformism it is indeed heartening to know of at least two men who have the courage of their convictions, and who are not easily stampeded with the herd.

With our thanks and best wishes,  
As ever,

WESLEY W. NIGHTINGALE.  
JANET ALLEN NIGHTINGALE.

DALLES, OREG.,  
August 16, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: First, let me congratulate you upon your stand concerning the war in Vietnam. I believe it takes a very courageous person to take such a stand in the face of so much opposition. For what little good it may do you, my husband and I want you to know that we back you 100 percent on this issue.

We also want you to know that we support S. 1932 and H.R. 7700.

Mrs. E. W. JACOBSON.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 18, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You have my whole-hearted support in your opposition to present U.S. policy in South Vietnam.

I wish there were something I could do to implement your ideas.

Very truly,

ELIZABETH NICHOLSON.

WESTCHESTER, ILL.,  
August 9, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to congratulate you for your courage in this time of hysteria, against involvement in a war.

What are we doing so far away in the Gulf of Tonkin?

What would be our reaction if some of Red China's fleet was patrolling in the Gulf of Mexico?

Yours truly,

J. P. FETCHO.

NEPONSET, LONG ISLAND, N.Y.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: In these dark days of war in the Far East, unrest and disregard of laws in our own South, it is so encouraging to hear your lone voice cry out in this wilderness.

To be a dissenter with the torch of honesty and truth takes great courage, and our eyes are turned to you.

Yours very respectfully,

LILLIAN R. WARWICK.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your refusal to sign Mr. Johnson's blank check.

I am certain that history will uphold your rejection of this dangerous act.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD A. FIREMAN.

RIDGEFIELD, N.J.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Want you to know how much I appreciate your continuing to fight for a peaceful solution to the situation in Vietnam. Reconvening the 14 nations for a conference seems to be the only rational way to stop the war from escalating into a world holocaust.

It has been very evident that the Vietnamese people have no will to fight and only want an opportunity to solve their own affairs without interference.

By bringing devastation to their land and continuing to send more and more American boys to die there will not solve the problem.

Thanks again for your forthright position in calling for our withdrawal of troops and a peaceful solution around the conference table.

Sincerely yours,

MORRIS BRAUNSTEIN.

PORTERSVILLE, PA.,  
August 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to congratulate and thank you on behalf of my grand- and great-grandchildren for your stand against our sons being used in the dirty plans of dollar-crazed madmen who seem to have learned nothing from 50 million lives snuffed out in two world wars, and for what? My first vote at 21 years was for a Republican, also it was my last. I voted for J.F.K. because he made such an earnest plea for the 17 million below the poverty line. Yet immediately he was embroiled in a Berlin crisis and enhanced the Vietnam dirty war that we took over when France was kicked out. How can any American who just wants to be a decent human being and believes (not in the meatless hogwash of so many of our spiritual advisors) but in the very plainly spelled-out Christian reality of the Gospel that is backed up with everything for the life, love, and

care planted in mother earth, with no questions of doubt as it being for him. But he must dig it out. L.B.J. cannot justify what he is doing to anyone who dares to think in terms of Christianity.

Yours for more men like you. Your colleague from the cold country, with a warm heart.

Best,

G. SAUNDERS.

ELLENSBURG, WASH.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

YOUR HONOR: Congratulations on your shining sanity during the hour of crisis in Vietnam. We applaud your outspoken comments concerning the military.

Needless to say we never believe did believe the news reports justifying our actions and still do not. Therefore we were surprised and pleased to hear one voice speaking truthfully about the disguised aggressions of our country.

We look for your voice.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. ROGER E. JACKSON.

SEATTLE, WASH.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am thanking you for efforts for negotiation of the trouble in Vietnam. War has never solved anything and never will and if we fire the first atom bomb Russia will immediately bomb us.

Sometimes I wonder if mankind is worth saving.

Thank you for standing almost alone for right.

George W. Norris, La Follette, Jeannette Rankin stood alone too.

In Nivinnah case was first asked for several righteous men were found the city would be saved. The last offer was if one righteous were found the city would be saved. Alas one was not found and we call ourselves civilized?

Thank you.

Mrs. CHAS. W. SCOTT.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Your position on Vietnam and the foreign aid bill are highly appreciated.

S. ASTON.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Although I am not one of your constituents, I would like to commend you for your courageous stand in voting against the recent resolution on Vietnam. I am not a pacifist (absolute-style, I mean) nor am I a Communist sympathizer. But everything I read leads me to conclude that we are acting stupidly and dangerously over there.

Cordially,

PAUL E. MEEHL.

(Same to Senator GRUENING.)

BABBITT, MINN.,  
August 10, 1964.

(This is a copy of a letter sent to Senators HUMPHREY and MCCARTHY and Congressman BLATNIK.)

We feel that Senator MORSE's position on warmongering in Vietnam was correct and you should support him even though it may seem unpopular at the moment. We are disappointed in you supporting the resolution on Vietnam; in so doing, you are carrying out the Goldwater program, in our opinion.



If the administration continues to carry out this policy in Vietnam, there will be a lot of confused voters in the coming election. While there is a fairly clear cut difference in domestic issues, there seems to be little choice for the voters on foreign policy. In the first place, we have no moral right interfering in the internal affairs of another nation and secondly, if we get in a real mess, GOLDWATER will use the same tactics that Ike used in Korea to get elected.

Sincerely,

HANNAH JOHNSON,  
ANDY JOHNSON.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We wish to commend you on your courageous stand on exposing the warmongering in Vietnam, and for taking a stand against the resolution.

Mr. and Mrs. ANDY JOHNSON.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Little as it may mean to you to receive one letter more out of the myriads of communications that are being now addressed to you, I am happy to add my own thin small note of praise to that myriad of voices.

Certainly it's meant a great deal to me and to people I know and love here in New York to have one or two gentlemen like yourself and Senator GRUENING attempting, despite all hysteria, to clarify the Vietnam situation and explore alternatives of thinking and reporting on what is taking place there.

I spent a short time there (in Saigon) at the time of the Buddhist hunger strike last summer, and saw the what seemed to me—falsity of our position.

I imagine that if you keep trying to communicate, sooner or later some sense will break through, since it seems inevitable that as U.S. misapprehension and hysteria fades, the situation will resolve itself as other crisis situations have.

I think that if Johnson were to follow a more peaceable and less automatically hostile policy (to both China and North Vietnam, I mean) and tried to resolve the situation in South Vietnam into a neutralist calm, he would have more domestic support here than he figures on, despite the surface acrimony of "warhawk" propaganda. In other words I think a lot of the hysteria is quite arbitrary, the sense of fear arbitrary and not inevitable in the situation. Had he followed a straighter policy of neutralization and conciliation he might have evoked some of the sense of well-being and hope that Kennedy at least touched on, or seemed to, by hindsight.

Good luck and I hope you don't get depressed, all the noise in the papers, etc.

Sincerely,

ALLEN GINSBERG.

ROME, GA.,  
August 12, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This letter is to express my thanks for your stand with the Senator from Alaska on giving the President the carte blanche to wage war on his own. It is truly amazing that only two recognized this direct assault on our Constitution. Of course this is not new but with each assault this provision that gives only Congress the right to declare war, gets dimmer and dimmer.

Roosevelt started this assault but masked it by getting Japan to attack. Truman continued the work by defying Congress and the voice of the people, and Johnson now ignores it completely and only two raise their voices.

May you continue to have faith in the American people to know what they are about and to know how to govern themselves

even though your faith in us wavered when you voted for the civil rights legislation.

Sincerely yours,

GLENN D. CARLSON.

CLEVELAND HEIGHTS, OHIO,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Look magazine opens an article this week on "1914-18" with these words: "The Bloody Years of World War I still stand as a classic testament to man's capacity for folly." Now it looks as if our Government is committing itself to another nightmare of folly. I am glad one man in our Government has the courage to stand up and oppose this new stampede. I want to thank you for your speaking out against this new Korea. I think you would be surprised to know how many people agree with you.

Respectfully yours,

RUTH C. STEINBERG.

OLLIE, IOWA,  
August 10, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: We wish to express our appreciation to you and the Alaska Senator for your stand against President Johnson and all the war-mongering, trigger-happy Congressmen who supported him in his actions in Vietnam.

It requires more courage to stand up for the right, than to hide behind a murderous weapon of war. He who fears his enemy is lost already; but he who loves his enemy is well along the road to changing him into a friend. While we were yet enemies, Jesus loved and died for us; therefore we must love our enemies, do good to those who hate us, and thus fulfill His commandment to "Love ye one another."

We have a son and we do not care to sacrifice him to money interests, working through political maneuvering and military influence which have always been the causes of war.

If you have the time would you please pass this letter on to the Alaska Senator who voted with you?

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. R. F. ACHESON.

ELMIRA, N.Y.,  
August 11, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept my gratitude and admiration for your opposition vote against the President's action in the Vietnam affair. The press has reported that you have said, "we are headed straight for war with China." I agree, that is our end and aim.

I spent nearly a quarter of a century working with the Chinese people first in China and then in New York City. In the year 1930 Chinese graduate students in New York City argued that the aim of U.S. foreign policy was to make China an American India. In the 34 years which have passed since that date we have reduced Japan, acquired South Korea, fortified Que-moy and Matsu, and now are struggling for a foothold in the southern peninsula. We are now almost ready to take on the whole of Chinese Asia. This will be our third world war.

In the Library of Congress (I suppose since it was copyrighted) is my history of the Chemung County branch of the Brooks family which I wrote for my nephews and nieces with the title "This Is Your Inheritance." The last 20 pages are called World

War II from a point of view in China. I wish that this might be of some help in our crisis. The book is also in the Daughters of the American Revolution Library at 1776 D Street NW., Washington, D.C. Maybe one of your secretaries can check.

Thanking you again for your vote, I am,  
Yours sincerely,

RACHEL G. BROOKS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: We urge you to endorse and initiate full negotiations of the whole issue of South Vietnam and that the complete withdrawal of U.S. military personnel and equipment be our first overture of good faith.

The United States has been committed for 10 years in South Vietnam, to a policy for which we must expect retaliatory actions. To become indignant over the attacks by PT boats on our destroyers, whose presence is intimidating to the North Vietnamese, is pure hypocrisy.

The commitment of the United States in South Vietnam has made us a puppet to the fortunes and fears of the regime of Premier Nguyen Khanh. His bellicose and provocative statements and actions threaten the security of the whole world. In view of this, we support the stand taken by Senator WAYNE MORSE.

GORDON L. REEVES,  
LOUDEAM A. REEVES.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: This letter is being written shortly after sending you a telegram expressing approval of your stand on the Vietnamese crisis as stated in the New York Times this morning. Since I am profoundly deaf, my information comes from the printed media, and, as I write this, I am not aware of any recent developments that may have been announced over the radio.

There are a number of questions existing in my mind demanding answers before I can express any approval of the administration's actions. Among these are the following:

1. Who was responsible for violating the Geneva treaty—North Vietnam or the United States? Did U.S. support for the Diem regime begin before active support for the South Vietnam rebels came from North Vietnam?

2. To what extent have the "routine" U.S. patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin been aiding South Vietnamese attacks on the North?

3. Were the U.S. raids partly motivated by fear of an impending coup in South Vietnam or by fear that the country may soon fall to the Vietcong? Despite attempts by the administration to make the U.S. position look favorable, news reports and maps of South Vietnam have shown steady gains by the Vietcong, until now they control much of the country surrounding Saigon.

4. To what extent were the raids motivated by the current political situation in this country? Is Johnson trying to prove that he can carry a bigger stick than GOLDWATER?

5. How much truth is there to reports of Vietcong terrorism against the peasants? The Communists have learned in the past that more effective results can be obtained by befriending the populace than by intimidating them. (An example is China, where there was widespread support for the Reds, while the American people were made to believe the opposite.) Force against the local peasants before all opposition has been eliminated would only harm the Vietcong's efforts.



6. How extensive, in terms of men, food, supplies, etc., is North Vietnamese involvement in the South? My own impression, from reading the newspapers, has been that most of the Vietcong's weapons are of U.S. manufacture.

While I consider myself a loyal U.S. citizen and have no desire to see the expansion of communism, I do think that one should give careful and thoughtful study to the history of Asia and the economic, historical, political and ideological background of that region—they undoubtedly play a major role in the present situation, more so than any desire on the part of Communists to gain power for the sake of power. The hasty "preventive" measures taken by this country have demonstrated no real concern for the welfare of the people or any understandings of their feelings or motivations. Why does the freedom of a people become our deep concern only when these people are threatened by an ideology foreign to our own? Are the people of Asia worse off under Communist efforts to develop their countries than they were under exploitation by the West?

Furthermore, by what right do we use our military power to seek "freedom" for citizens in foreign lands when we will not even use this power to guarantee the rights of our own citizens? Who can condemn terrorist tactics abroad without hanging his head in shame at the tactics being employed to intimidate our own Negro citizens and others trying to help them? Keeping people stirred up about events in foreign lands, stirring anger in them over insults to national prestige, and arousing fear concerning foreign ideologies is an effective way of taking their minds off domestic troubles. Is this not the tactic that has been used by the Chinese Communist leaders whose economic plans have not been met?

The world situation now is complex and I am well aware that there is no simple path to be followed in the attempt to preserve and increase our own freedoms and economic advantages while helping to develop the rest of the world and preventing it from falling to an ideology that glorifies the state. But we need to show a little more concern for the feelings of others and for their way of looking at things, realizing that our present position of superiority does not give us the right to tell others what is best for them and not worrying so much about insults to our national pride and image. As a supposedly educated people, we ought to be able to see how inconsequential the latter really are. I am as much opposed to Goldwaterism, which takes a narrow, limited view of our position in the world and which would lead this country down the same path all great empires which have gotten too idealistic and conceited have fallen, as I am to communism.

Before I close, I would like to state that I am a third-year graduate student from Massachusetts, studying for the Ph. D. in physics from Yale University on a National Science Foundation Fellowship. I have held several summer jobs with Government laboratories.

I hope that you will continue to take strong stands on issues, and continue your intelligent criticism of our Government's policies. Although I do not always agree with your conclusions, I appreciate the reasons behind your stands. A free nation requires citizens who are not afraid to stand up to their government, not citizens who emotionally support its every decision.

Yours sincerely,

RALPH F. GUERTIN.

SALEM, OREG.,  
August 15, 1964.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I agree with you regarding foreign aid—cut that fund and

send out more Peace Corps people, even to Harlem, New York City.

On the poverty question—let the men who make appropriations look at the lineup of unemployed along Burnside in Portland, Oreg., and make room for more than an even 200 men in work camps.

Concerning the election—let the Republicans who are candidates renounce any ties with GOLDWATER, as many voters have said, "I'm a Republican but I am voting a straight Democratic ticket."

I have voted for a Republican occasionally, but not this year.

On Vietnam: "Who was stupid enough to get America's feet stuck in that trap?" The Vietnamese have offered a fair "out"; that is, Vietnamese will not fight any other Vietnamese person unless an American is helping in the battle, an easy "out" for President Johnson and one which would kick all the GOLDWATER props out from under the Republicans' campaign. Don't continue the foolish Madame Nhu policy of beat them harder.

If President Johnson is as dishwater weak on civil rights in the future as in the past, and unless he gets out of Vietnam many people will have to write in your name for President and Senator FULBRIGHT for Vice President in November.

The United States is foolish to tremble over Cuban and Latin Americans' ideology. They are so poor and backward, who cares what their ideology is.

Very truly yours,

MRS. RAY THOMAS.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.,  
August 13, 1964.

The Honorable SENATOR MORSE:

I would like to let you know that I approve of your vote on the resolution backing President Johnson's action in the southeast Asian crisis.

You are doing a wonderful job in Washington. We need more men like you.

I only wish that mothers would write you and let you know you are right.

Sincerely,

MRS. PAUL SCHUMACHER.

EVERETT, WASH.,  
August 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My husband and I want to say a hearty "God bless you and thank you" for the wonderful courage you are showing in this Vietnam outrage.

Many of our friends share our views—you are not alone.

We are senior citizens and have lived through all of the wars since the Spanish-American in 1898.

Again God bless you.

MRS. CARL HAGEDORN.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,  
August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: Regarding your recent statement made to the public, I highly respect and support your feelings.

Our pastor, Rev. James W. Jones, of Peoples Temple, Indianapolis, urged his congregation to write you for speaking out against the current crisis in South Vietnam. We do appreciate your honesty, and sincerely believe in your dedication to serve this country in such a matter even though you may seem to be a minority.

May God richly bless you in all your endeavors and may He strengthen you daily, guide and direct you with wisdom.

Yours in Christ,

MRS. LORETTA CORDELL.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U. S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to take the opportunity to congratulate you on your

courageous stand against President Johnson's military action in North Vietnam. I am deeply concerned by our country's arrogant attitude in southeast Asia, where it is engaged in open warfare without any declaration of war, and this latest action in North Vietnam is just another indication of President Johnson's desire to spread the war in this already war-torn area.

I know how difficult it is to assume a minority position in the face of overwhelming opposition, but this makes your stand even more commendable and you have my whole-hearted support.

Sincerely yours,

JUDY RADER,  
Senior, University of California.

AMERICUS, GA.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SIR: Please allow me to commend your honest and forthright vote against the congressional resolution supporting the recent action of the United States in North Vietnam.

Our Government should not be involved in a war in which we have no direct concern. I believe that this most recent intervention, which can lead only to further involvement, is basically a political gambit aimed at strengthening the prospects of Mr. Johnson's election.

Sincerely,

L. SCOTT MCNEIL.

BRANDON, FLA.,  
August 9, 1964.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Please let me thank you for the great courage and moral principle you showed last week in your speech against administration deeds and policy in Vietnam.

I hope you will continue to be the voice of the conscience of our country and work to get us out of the immoral war—and impractical and foolish too—which we have involved ourselves in on the other side of the world.

Sincerely yours,

ALICE COOPER.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND.,  
July 29, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U. S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Earlier this week I heard a tape recorded interview on our Radio Station WIBC in Indianapolis, in which you expressed your views about South Vietnam, the war there and why the people of this country allowed the administration to let this happen and go on.

Well, I want to tell you Senator, the peoples' wishes don't count any more. The down to earth grassroots of America is hollering. They have been, but their voices are not listened to. I'll bet you a good "Dairy Queen" malt that if you could read the millions of letters that go to the White House you would get your eyes opened. Who do you think opens those letters first and sorts them? The people might as well save their 5 cents postage. In return they get a mimeographed answer. Done by some secretary or other office worker. Those letters are sorted in groups or categories, then given to some departments to read and etc. I even wonder if they are read at all. Ninety-nine percent goes to the State Department and just who is the State Department? Don't they or whoever they are conduct our foreign affairs? They do it to suit themselves. It has gone on far too long. Those in that Department don't have American interests at heart.

We could have been spared these lives that are being taken everyday in South Vietnam if General MacArthur had been allowed to win the Korean war as he wanted to. Mr. Truman had some insane adviser who wanted a no-win policy. Also the Communist Daily Worker had predicted the downfall



of General MacArthur in a blast against him in their publication. They called him the last great American to fall. So we are still fighting and for what? The Communists have no intention of losing any of southeast Asia or any other country they enslave. The fall of French Indochina was plotted by the third meeting of the Communist Party after they organized. Khrushchev openly says he will see that Indonesia will get all the help it needs to take Malaysia. That will trigger the next war, but first they want America drained dry of men and resources, so they can conquer us too at the same time. The sooner we get some action by our Congressmen and Senators on throwing out these sympathizers in the State Department the better off America will be.

How stupid it is to believe anything Khrushchev promises to America. He has proven himself to be a liar a million times. A country that doesn't believe in God is void of all honesty. Just look what he did to a captain of an American ship, hauling American wheat. The captain said the Russian stevedores themselves said it was going to Cuba. The State Department put out a feeble news item that they protested vigorously. Believe that if you want to.

Another thing that is a travesty to us Americans is to let Communist propaganda mail travel free in America. What are we coming to? It shouldn't even be allowed at \$1 per letter or pamphlet or anything else. Does any of ours go through their mails? I'll say not. We pay 5 cents postage now, as Americans, and the Postmaster General wants to raise the rates again. Shouldn't we come first?

Senator Morse, I hope that you will see this and read it. The two Senators of my own State wouldn't bother to read this or any other complaint like it. It is like South Vietnam, it's a losing battle and no pattern for victory with us everyday Americans any more.

Very truly,

Mrs. MELVIN BALES.

INTERLAKEN, SWITZERLAND,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Firstly, we thank you for a clear-headed stand in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee against the President's action in North Vietnam. It is a reassurance to know that not everyone is hasty to send our young men to fight a war they or we are not informed on.

Secondly, we assure you that we are in agreement with your opinions concerning North Vietnam and are not silent voices among our citizens.

Very truly yours,

Mr. and Mrs. ALPHONSE AVITABILE.

WILMETTE, ILL.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We want to thank you for your protest against the U.S. bombing of ports in North Vietnam. We are dismayed by the U.S. policy in South Vietnam; instead of upholding freedom, we have been upholding a series of brutal dictatorships. Thank you again for speaking out.

Sincerely,

DAVID and RUTH BENNETT.

COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS &  
SURGEONS OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,  
New York, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Democrat, Oregon,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am long overdue in writing to thank you for battling against

terrible odds on the matter of our involvement in Vietnam. I completely agree with your position, but as a citizen watching the executive and legislative process through newspapers, I grow increasingly discouraged that our policies often evolve to be what the CIA appears to want. Having just read "The Invisible Government" and "The Warfare State" (Fred J. Cook) I am more concerned that nonelected interest groups have the power to push the whole country in any direction they invent a story to cover. Both these books read like cops and robbers, but so do the front pages.

Thank you also for your general qualities of inquiry; I wish there were 20 Wayne Morses in Washington. We could then sleep easier.

Sincerely,

SUE BUCKINGHAM, M.D.,  
Assistant Professor, Pediatric.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Although my letter is belated, it does not lack intensity in praising you for your stand on the Vietnam crises, and in particular, the Gulf of Tonkin incident.

If there were more men like you in the Senate today, the world would probably be on the road to peace. As it is now, you are the one sane voice crying in a wilderness of "wild men." I fervently hope that soon your views on southeast Asia will take hold of our congressional leaders and make them face and accept reality. However, this is probably too much to hope for since most of them have been out of contact with reality for the last 20 years.

Even though I am a civil servant, employed by the Department of Defense I am strongly opposed to the Pentagon's philosophy of a military solution for southeast Asia. There can be none, I am convinced, and the only rational course would be to negotiate for neutralization of South Vietnam. I hope that you will continue to press your case to the American people on this issue. In so doing, you have my staunch support and great respect for your wisdom and courage.

Sincerely yours,

LIONEL H. MEDVENE.  
P.S.—My compliments to Senator GRUENING also for his courageous stand.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As a private citizen deeply impressed by your position in relation to the present Vietnam crisis, I would be very glad if your office could send me whatever published material you may have setting forth the facts and the reasons for your recent statements that the United States has acted as a provocateur, as much as has North Vietnam, of hostilities in this area, and particularly the details of the position of our destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin at the time of the attack by the vessels of South Vietnam on the shoreline of North Vietnam.

I make this request out of a desire to obtain more specific information about the war in Vietnam than is contained in the daily newspapers, not out of any wish to quote or republish such materials, and trust you can be of help in this direction, or can suggest how I can find out more about what is going on and how you, Senator MORSE, feel about it.

Thanking you for your attention.

Very truly yours,

YONAH RICHMOND.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I heard excerpts from your comments on the Tonkin Bay affair on television last night. I agree with your sentiments, as I am sure do many others. I admire your courage in voicing your convictions. While all Americans must back the Government's foreign policy and be willing to face the consequences, it is a great mistake to believe that these policies cannot be debated while they are being formulated and criticized when they are open to criticism. As you explained, the U.S. action against North Vietnam is certainly open to criticism. It would be a shame if action such as this, which might bring the most terrible consequences, were not fully debated.

Will you please send me a complete transcript of your speech on the Tonkin Bay situation.

Very truly yours,

MARTIN SCHULMAN,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
August 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a brief word of congratulations and support for your courageous minority stand re our war in Vietnam. I hope your voice will be heard and listened to in Congress and in the country as a whole.

Sincerely,

E. JAMES LIEBERMAN.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your comments on the position of this country in its actions in southeast Asia and your comments on the resolution passed by Congress giving the President special powers to deal with the situation there seem to deserve more attention than they are receiving.

I am particularly concerned with our apparent decision to go it alone there—with no consultation with our allies or the U.N.

Your courage in speaking your mind should be applauded and your counsel should be heeded.

Sincerely yours,

LILLIAN MARQUIS,  
WEST ACTON, MASS.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am most anxious to express to you my gratitude for the sensitivity and up-to-date awareness you should in your vote against Joint Resolution 189. Any resolution predicated, however subtly, on force cannot to my mind be within conscience.

You and Senator GRUENING must know that there are many Americans behind your stand.

Yours sincerely,

SARAH JEFFRIES,  
WEST NEWBURY, MASS.,  
August 11, 1964.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: A couple of weeks ago I read your piece on Vietnam in the Progressive, and resolved to write you a note of congratulation. But I don't write to Senators easily; I assume that they must know as much as I do, and I cannot add very much. Then came your vote on this congressional orgasm about this Gulf of Tonkin foolishness, and I almost wrote you again. But my general unwillingness to add to busy senatorial mail prevailed and I did not. But your remarks over the radio this evening on the foreign aid bill overcame all my scruples. I hate to believe that you and I



are the only sane people in the country, but I must tell you that at least one American (even though not a constituent—I am a registered Democrat in Key West, Fla.) agrees with you 100 percent. As a taxpayer I am perfectly willing to invest \$3 or \$10 billion a year in foreign aid, provided that it is aid for the right things, but this is just not what we have been doing.

Now, I never write letters of this kind unless I think that there is something to be done about the matter. This whole business of Vietnam, and the larger "foreign-aid" problem, has demonstrated the failure of our educational machinery. And I don't mean our schools and colleges. How many Americans realize that American policy spent the first decade after World War II and several hundred million dollars trying to subjugate Indochina (Vietnam) to the French, and the next decade, and several billion dollars, trying to get the Vietnamese to fight our undeclared war on China for us? (They don't seem to want to, which is just as well.) I cannot believe that Americans would approve these shenanigans, if they knew about them. The Louis Harris poll, reported in yesterday's Washington Post, asserts that the poll proved two things. Harris does not mention that the one thing that it did prove is that Americans know just too little about Vietnam, and not much else.

For reform, I'd like to start with the U.S. Office of Education. It should either change its name to "U.S. Office of Schools and Colleges" or else really set about the business of providing education through all the media of education that there are. We need a national effort to make sure that Americans know enough to reach intelligent decisions democratically. True, there is still plenty to be done about classroom education (for example, believe it or not, professors teach about China in our colleges who have never been in China). But our major educational deficiency is in the education of Americans whose classroom experience is long behind them. So far as I can make out, the foundations are not particularly interested in doing a real job at this level.

Sincerely yours,

MORTIMER GRAVES.

P.S.—Please don't bother to reply unless you can think of something that I ought to be doing about it. As a matter of fact, I am and have been for many years—doing something about it. It goes without saying that I can elaborate on these subjects almost interminably, but I've tried to keep my letter short.

#### WE WERE WRONG ON VIETNAM

To the EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS:

I wonder if Newburyport, Mass., is not as good a place as any to begin to dispel some of the colossal ignorance about Vietnam which seems to possess the American people. The simple first fact to understand is that from the time of Potsdam, almost 20 years ago, where we acquiesced (or worse) in the plan to give Indochina back to the French, who had run out 4 years earlier on the Vietnamese and left them to the tender mercies of the Japanese, American actions with respect to Vietnam can fairly be described as despicable. We should all be ashamed of them; Gen. Douglas MacArthur said they made his "blood boil."

The story is long, complicated, and unpleasant, and cannot be told in detail in a simple letter to the editor, but some recent remarks in your Once Over Lightly column (which I admire very much) impel me to make a small observation with respect to one element in the picture.

You recount a protest by some Vietnamese students against the 1954 "partition" of Vietnam into North and South. Now, who partitioned Vietnam? Not the Geneva

Agreements of 1954, certainly. These did, indeed, accept as a military fact the 17th parallel as the "cease-fire" line between the defeated French and the magnificently courageous Vietnamese those "won't fight" Vietnamese who dislike participating in our wars but seem to do pretty well on their own) who had just given the Franco-American attempt to subjugate them such a historic licking.

But the whole tone of the agreements is in terms of a unified Vietnam; in fact, one of their principal provisions was for a total general election within 2 years for the purpose. Unfortunately, the Dulles boys and their faineant President of the time did not want a free election unified Vietnam, so the signatories of the Geneva Agreements had hardly got their ballpoint pens back into their breast pockets before the agreements were sabotaged by the United States. This is the whole point of the Eisenhower letter to Ngo Dinh Diem with which President Johnson introduced his recent—mis-called "bel-ligerent"—address.

And the 10 years which have intervened since 1954 have just provided a succession of episodes of this same character. I should be the first to agree that ignorance has been a larger ingredient in this process than malevolence, but I do not expect the rest of the world to see things in so charitable a light.

We should thank our lucky stars that, for the moment at least, we have a level-headed President with some conception of the complexities—mostly American politics—of a problem for which he is not responsible. The Johnson administration is saddled with the fulfillment of a commitment which it did not make. Honorably, it refuses to repudiate the commitment lest those who have depended upon it be harmed, but it must find a way to redress a grievous wrong of two decades' standing which if allowed to persist can only lead to disaster.

It will take national character and courage to admit that we have been wrong. Do we have it? That is our question. It is unfair to President Johnson to leave him up there to answer it alone, especially in an election year.

MORTIMER GRAVES.

DAYTON, OHIO,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: This is to express my sincere appreciation to you for opposing the administration's mad recent moves in Vietnam. I feel we have no business over there. When will we ever grow up? When will we ever outgrow the childish and insane use of military might which only leaves more problems to be settled?

Thank you for your position.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. CHASE CONOVER.

RIDLEY PARK, PA.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on the position you have taken re our involvement, present and past, in South Vietnam.

All other Washington officials have jumped on the bandwagon, even those whose logic I had come to depend on.

As a social scientist, I am really worried about the trends in thinking and action evidenced by the American populace. The emotional climate in the United States evidences deep running neurotic trends. The outcome could be disastrous.

Very truly,

EMILY M. FLETCHER COOPER.

OAK PARK, MICH.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing for myself and my wife to say that we are proud of you and Senator GRUENING for having the courage of your convictions and standing up for your principles. Thank God that there were the two of you who refused your support to our Vietnam policy.

At this time yours may be voices in the wilderness but I feel that yours is the course that will lead us to peace and a peaceful solution in Vietnam and other places.

I am sorry I cannot vote for you. I do hope you will continue to be reelected for as many more times as you choose to run.

May I also add that even when I disagree with you I have respect for your courage and honesty.

Sincerely yours,

EUGENE BARON, O.D.

ACTON, MASS.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I congratulate you on your firm stand against the use of military force in the Vietnamese incident. Your vote against the joint resolution was courageous.

Sincerely,

JANE WESTOVER,

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I am writing to you to express my admiration of your frank and outspoken opposition to the war in South Vietnam and its extension to the north.

I have been writing to other Senators asking to join you in your efforts.

Respectfully yours,

ANNA WEISS.

EMBARRASS, MINN.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to heartily endorse your stand on the vote on the resolution for the President's action in Vietnam.

One vote no longer seems to matter in this great Republic, particularly when action is taken before the public is informed.

I cross party and State lines to offer you encouragement for your courageous, individual stand. I can only hope men of peace will continue to speak out with reason before inflammatory actions bring about a disaster beyond any the world has yet seen.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. D. J. KIVELS.

P.S.—For the sake of the children, there must be no more war.

AUGUST 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: You deserve credit and thanks for your opposition to military action in Vietnam. Yours seems to be the only voice in the Senate to state the obvious fact that the United States shares the responsibility for the present crisis; in fact may be the major contributor to the crisis.

Instead of a war, a political solution is needed which is acceptable to the Vietnamese people and is recognized and guaranteed by the United Nations and China.

At this time when Congressmen are playing the dangerous and destructive game of manipulating the truth in the name of national security, you are especially to be



commended for your insights into the situation and the courage you have shown by publicly sharing these insights.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD LAZAR.  
LYNN LAZAR.

PROVIDENCE, R.I.

MADISON, WIS.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The citizens of this country, including myself, owe thanks to you for the courage which your speech of August 5 on the Vietnam incident indicates you have put in the service of our country.

Since as citizens we are not all actively involved in making Government decisions, and since in fact not all the information on which these decisions are based is made available to us, it is difficult or perhaps impossible to judge whether this or that course of action is the better for our Government to take. However, since all of us are interested—with adequate reason—in the effect of us of any Government action, we tend to have opinions which are, perhaps, supported with more of zeal and passion than of knowledge and wisdom.

For this reason we undoubtedly owe you, in addition to our thanks, an apology for the harsh criticism with which some of us will have greeted your speech—a criticism which will rarely recognize either the manifest and sincere concern for our country which you have displayed, or the possible truth and accuracy of your facts and inferences.

The first oversight is unjust to you; the second oversight is dangerous to ourselves. This danger is reason for us to ask that you continue to bear the consequences of the first so that we have some hope of avoiding the second. (In this connection I recall that both Senator FULBRIGHT and Senator SALTONSTALL, when given an excellent opportunity on television to do so, failed to comment on your conjecture as to the position of our ships when fired upon. Since this failure tends to confirm the conjecture, they should be admonished to be more diligent in making the truth known, or more bold in supporting what they otherwise must consider to be a useful falsehood.)

Now for the reasons above I extend my sincere thanks that you have agreed to serve in the Senate of the United States of America; we are a better country because of that decision.

CHARLES C. CONLEY.

SILVER SPRING, MD.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to commend you for your stand in southeast Asia.

I am with you all the way.

Sincerely yours,

EDITH TIPPERMAN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to commend you on your courageous and forthright stand on the President's proclamation on the war in Vietnam. I strongly resent the assumption on the part of President Johnson and other leaders that they speak with the full support of the American people in an unjust and unjustifiable war.

In a time when we are threatened in both

our domestic and foreign policies by ultra-conservative and reactionary forces, the voices of protest and liberalism seem increasingly silent. It is for this reason I am writing, asking that you continue to speak for those of us who do not and will not accede to the injustices being carried out under the guise of exalted American responsibility.

Very truly yours,

DAVID ELISCU.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I cannot adequately express my admiration and gratitude for your courageous stand against the war in Vietnam. In times like these I know it is difficult to almost singlehandedly fight for the right against all the forces of reaction in Congress but I know that you must do it for all of us who share your views and who will eventually be joined by more as the truth becomes known. Please be assured that I will do whatever I can to spread the facts before all I can reach. I am this day appealing to our newly appointed Senator from California, PIERRE SALINGER, to join you in working for peace in southeast Asia.

With every good wish for you,

Sincerely,

Mrs. LaRUE McCORMICK.

DREXEL HILL, PA.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

Bravo, Senator MORSE, bravo.

For many years, I have been praising your courage; for many years, I have been lauding your independence; for many years, my friends have been referring to you as "Andy's Senator" when they wish to refer to you (pro or con); and for many years, I have put off writing you to praise your courage, laud your independence, and ask you to count me among those who support you in your many unpopular stands.

I can make no more excuses for not writing now, because I fear that the entire weight of the country is going to be brought against you and your stand on the Vietnam mess, and I want you to know that there is support for you and your stand. You are not alone.

You know—as well as those who are doing it—that the American people are easily manipulated. It won't take too long for the American people who, until recently, didn't want war to be clamoring to "Remember the Maine" or "Avenge the burning of the Reichstag."

I regret that I am not an Oregonian so that I may say proudly, "My Senator has brains and guts."

Bravo, sir, bravo.

Respectfully,

ANDREW KEVORKIAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Subject: South Vietnam.

PRESIDENT L. JOHNSON,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The attacks on North Vietnam may widen the war.

The alleged attack on U.S. military ships in the Gulf of Tonkin is insufficient justification for the rash action suggested. The various nonresident forces in the area should withdraw to allow a peaceful settlement under the United Nations.

Sincerely,

JACOB SHERMAN.

(Copies to Senator T. KUCHEL and Senator W. MORSE.)

WILMINGTON, OHIO,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to express my appreciation for your vote against the joint resolution on policy in southeast Asia. I am glad also for your vigorous and constant questioning of our actions in Vietnam.

A matter of great concern to me is that in these actions that affect us so vitally we are almost entirely in the dark as to what the facts are. This situation is well illustrated by the question as to whether our destroyers "collaborated" with South Vietnamese ships in attacks on North Vietnam.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

WARREN GRIFFITHS,

SELAH, WASH.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: May I take this opportunity to say that I agree with your position on U.S. policy in southeast Asia. I hope your courage in taking a public stand on this issue will awaken others to your way of thinking.

Sincerely,

Mrs. JOHN T. RANDOLPH.

BAYSIDE, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I understand that you cast the lone vote against the resolution approving U.S. military action against North Vietnam bases.

While you may not receive many letters of praise for your wise and well-considered vote, let me say that I regret I am not an Oregonian—I would consider it an honor to vote for your reelection.

Very truly yours,

JOHN STRAUSS.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your courageous stand on the South Vietnam crisis. The only practical step, as you have been saying for some time, is to get our forces out of such places where the people can very well run their own affairs, and where we run the serious risk of setting off a real global holocaust. I hope you can have some influence with the present administration, to show them that they are carrying out just as bad a foreign policy as would the arch-reactionary BARRY GOLDWATER. The voters would have a difficult decision to make if they were extremely interested in peace and survival, and I think they are.

Yours very truly,

B. LINTON.

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: One still small voice is so priceless to me. I'm grateful for yours.

I heard only a part of your address on CBS or NBC and noted your vote on President Johnson's Vietnam resolution. It seemed to me that only time and history, if we are so blessed to have a future history, will give your words and vote the eloquence they deserve.

In the meantime, if you have a copy of your TV recorded view, would you be so good as to send it to me. I need ammunition for my conviction that we can no longer fight



with guns for peace, that the day has come when only a better idea can afford us the security we once imagined in armaments.

Gratefully yours,

EMILY LAWRENCE NEWTON.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,

August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: We are deeply grateful for your courageous "No" in the voting on military actions in southeast Asia.

In turbulent times like these your sober appraisal of events and your steady voice in support of law and humaneness are more needed than ever.

Respectfully yours,

DR. HANS RADEMACHER.  
IRMA W. RADEMACHER.

WASHON, WASH.,

August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Although I am not one of your constituents, may I assure you that there is much support, unfortunately inarticulate, for your recent statements on the Vietnam situation.

As you may know, the Seattle newspapers pretend you don't exist, unless you are attacked, and we must depend for news of your views on the occasional notice taken of you by television, and on magazines such as the "Progressive."

I know of no way to give you effective aid, but please accept my gratitude for your unflinching respect for equity among nations. Your words give us the rare opportunity to feel pride rather than shame, and I am so sorry that you must, almost alone, bear the expense of recouping some of our national respect, and even self-respect. Your courage is an inspiration.

Sincerely,

EDWIN K. COLE.

COLUMBUS, OHIO,

August 10, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The petition, a copy of which is enclosed, was hurriedly obtained to try to influence our Congressmen against the recently passed resolution on southeast Asia moves.

A few at our institute wrote letters commending your stand and I am glad to say you have some staunch supporters among the Unitarians.

I personally want to congratulate you for your courageous and principled stand. What a wonderful world it would be if we had 50 more Senators like you and Senator GRUENING.

Sincerely,

JOHN A. CHILDERS.

NOSSAMAN, THOMPSON, WATERS & MOSS,  
Los Angeles, Calif., August 11, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator from Oregon,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

HON. ERNEST GRUENING,  
U.S. Senator from Alaska,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I congratulate you both on two things, your opposition to foreign aid and to President Johnson's personal war in South Vietnam which was begun by President Kennedy.

Foreign aid will rank as the greatest fraud in human history. It has cost the United States over \$100 billion, none of which was our money, but all of which added to the

more than \$300 billion of indebtedness, which will never be paid, hanging over the people of the United States. We, of course, will never have an accounting of where these vast sums went or of who actually received them. We can perhaps get some idea from the fact that two West African chiefs have recently built themselves \$10 or \$12 million marble palaces out of these handouts. There was another West African chief, a year or so ago, who spent a day or two shopping in New York and ended up with about \$1 million in expensive equipment. No one will ever know how many South American and other dictators have been made millionaires by this program. American bankers doing business in South America estimate that perhaps from 40 to 50 percent of American aid filters through to its intended purposes, where we may safely assume it is incompetently expended.

No folly could possibly approach that of foreign aid—unless it is the proposal to spend some \$20 billion in trying to put a man on the moon. My recollection is that Senator MORSE has spoken out against this program also.

So far as South Vietnam is concerned, we simply have no business there. The fact that this tiny strip of cobra-infested jungle may go Communist is no concern of ours. The alternative would seem to be that we stand guard over it permanently and keep ourselves embroiled in the affairs of this half-civilized little country. We exhibited no particular concern when, without protest or interference, we let Eastern Europe, an infinitely more important area, drift into communism.

I am a Republican and regret that no prominent Republican has seen fit to speak out on these issues and to support the stand which you two gentlemen have so courageously taken. I am sending a copy of this letter to a few other persons who might be interested in its subject matter.

Yours very truly,

WALTER L. NOSSAMAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We support your position on South Vietnam. You are a courageous man to adhere to the principle of world peace through the machinery of the United Nations, when both political parties wish to attain our goals by military force. Thank you.

FREDERIC G. MARKS.

DEAR SENATOR: Permit me to give my moral and spiritual support for your courageous speech following the so-called attack on the U.S. fleet by North Vietnamese PT boats.

Could anyone in this country, or the world for that matter, actually believe this to be true without extreme provocation on our part? It seems we are intent on engaging them in war by fair means or foul, and this would seem to be the device. I for one can't swallow the yarn that they attacked us without provocation.

I am a registered Republican, in your camp, and hope you will have the strength to continue the fight for some semblance of sanity in this situation.

Please accept my best wishes.

Sincerely,

ANDREW T. CULLODEN.

FLOSSMOOR, ILL.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,

August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Only by negotiation can we hope to extricate ourselves from the disaster which the policy of force being employed under the orders of President Johnson in southeast Asia forebodes for the world.

Your courageous stand for a cease-fire in Vietnam and withdrawal of American troops has given heart to the forces of peace and sanity in our country.

Respectfully yours,

CECELIA WOLFSON.

GREENBELT, MD.,

August 4, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I cannot send you a communication on any matter without at the same time telling you how thoroughly I agree with your views on Vietnam. I want to commend you most highly for the splendid, courageous and forceful way you have spoken out on numerous occasions against the wrong and folly, as we see it, of our Government's course in regard to Vietnam. I have heard and seen you speak on this matter at least twice on television (on the "Today" program). I have written to President Johnson twice protesting against our policy in Vietnam, and urging a negotiated settlement and neutralization of the whole Indochinese peninsula, and collected 22 additional signatures on my last letter. But it does not look as if all the protests against U.S. participation in and support of the war in Vietnam were going to succeed in changing U.S. policy. There are not enough protests.

I applaud you also for all your efforts to help the poor and unfortunate people. If we could just have a lot more Senators and Representatives like you, how much better off our country and the world would be.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

MRS. ELSIE B. REEVES.

P.S.—Even since the Vietnam crisis you still maintain your good sense—you and Senator GRUENING. I knew you would.

WHITEFISH, MONT.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for the "no" vote on the resolution to back the administration's latest move to extend the war in Vietnam and thus bring the world closer to the brink of an unthinkable nuclear war. We strongly believe that the cause of peace can best be served only if we get out of South Vietnam, and now North Vietnam, too. Would that there were more Senators as courageous as you and Senator GRUENING.

Very truly yours,

Mr. and Mrs. WILFRED PEDERSEN.

OSKALOOSA, IOWA,

August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: At this occasion must congratulate you for the dissenting vote cast by you against the superimposition of power for President Johnson by both the House and Senate. This gives President Johnson the indiscriminate authority to use uncontrollable force "in aggressive warfare and undeclared war," without Senate approval in specific instances. This is contrary, to the will of the Constitution which desires to keep the peace. By his action President Johnson did in South Vietnam retaliate not only against the first offense but took occasion to instigate a "second aggressive offensive" not granted him by the Constitution or the Congress. This is tyranny and aggressive action due to superimposition of unlawful authority.

It was you and Senator ERNEST GRUENING who voted right on this matter, the rest voted in a schizophrenic or insane manner, that will greatly hurt the prestige of America in all the world. Please thank



Senator GRUENING for me, regarding the rightness of this dissenting vote against unauthorized superimposed unconstitutional authority of power for the President of the United States.

I have on several occasions notified President Johnson, that "no power on earth" will be able to prevent the Communist takeover in the Orient or East. This includes also Vietnam. It is a waste of lives and material on our part to defend Vietnam against aggression. It is a violation by us against their sovereignty as a Nation. De Gaulle had the right solution (neutralize the Orient), this President Johnson ignored because of his megacephalic authority foisted upon him by the Congress.

Sincerely,

WALTER T. OETJEN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It was very heartening to us to hear your comments on the Vietnam matter, and we commend you highly for speaking out. We wish there were more men of your caliber in Congress. We hope fervently that you will continue to use your influence to keep us out of war.

Respectfully yours,

BEN and ELLA WALT.

ROSEVILLE, MICH.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Commendations and a grateful thanks for offering what appears at present to be one of the only two sane voices in the country on Vietnam situation. Although I am not a constituent of yours I feel you are representing the true wishes of most of the American people who will have to fight the war which Johnson is brewing.

Yours truly,

ROSALIND WELTMAN.

PRINCETON, N.J.,  
August 10, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to express my appreciation of the forthright stand you have taken on the floor of the Senate regarding our role in Vietnam. It takes no little courage to support an unpopular position, as you and Senator GRUENING did, in the face of widespread opposition and jingoistic fervor.

Although I am not a constituent of yours, and hence my support won't be of much significance, I nevertheless feel that you should know that I, my wife, and many of my friends here at Princeton have great respect for your and Senator GRUENING's efforts. I hope that you will have some success in rallying your colleagues to the McGovern proposal.

Sincerely,

CHANDLER DAVIDSON.

HAMLIN, N.Y.,  
August 11, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am one of the millions of Americans who applaud your courageous action in opposing the madness of our policy in Vietnam and its inherent threat to the peace of the world. More power to you.

Personally, I deplore our intransigent attitude toward little Cuba, while at the same time we hob-nob with the beast Franco and bolster his rotten dictatorship by millions in subsidies.

I hope you will work for the withdrawal of our troops from all parts of the globe, and a resumption of our policy time-honored in the past, of minding our own business.

While political beatings, torture, and murder is rampant in the South, and bitter poverty affects millions of our people, it would seem that we have enough to do to mind our own business.

We are neither good enough nor big enough to run the whole damned world.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN D. LA WALL.

P.S.—My father was a Union soldier, my uncle left his arm at Gettysburg, and at the age of 15 I served in the Philippines in the Spanish-American War.

Could you kindly send me a roster of the Senate?

TURN TOWARD PEACE,  
New York, N.Y., August 8, 1964.

DEAR SIR: Let me urge you to take time out of a busy life to read the enclosed leaflet on South Vietnam by Robert S. Browne. We send it to you not as an official statement of "Turn Toward Peace"; as an organization of organizations it does not issue such official documents. "Turn Toward Peace" does want to promote discussion, and I can tell you that the general line of Mr. Browne's leaflet is accepted by a great many of the organizations participating in "Turn Toward Peace" as well as by many others unofficially represented at two conferences concerned with this subject.

I think the recent events in the Bay of Tonkin and our aerial bombardment of North Vietnam reinforce the conclusions of this paper. Our involvement in Vietnam is in itself a provocation which can only drag us in deeper and deeper. If we truly seek peace in southeast Asia we should immediately take steps to internationalize the situation, to end unilateral United States involvement, and to see that serious negotiations begin.

I myself, speaking as Norman Thomas rather than officially as chairman of anything, believe that our Government's present policy will, in the long run, help more than hurt aggressive communism throughout the world; further, it points steadily toward Asian, or probably world, war. A political solution may be difficult. A military solution is impossible.

Sincerely yours,

NORMAN THOMAS.

AMHERST, MASS.,  
August 9, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator of the United States,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear SENATOR: Permit me, though not one of your constituents, to express my deep admiration for the courage and wisdom you have exhibited by opposing the recent resolution of the Congress concerning the U.S. policy in southeast Asia. It will be long remembered by many who think like you that you and Senator GRUENING were the lonely dissenters in an emotion-conditioned move that may well be the gravest political error of this generation. The traditional missionary zeal of the Americans who believe that they are destined to bring "the law to the lesser breeds" once again has induced them to identify their own interests with the general postulate of freedom, an attitude which our enemies not unjustly may stigmatize as "imperialism."

I visited Saigon 2 years ago. The impression I gained is that we cannot win this war and the sooner we disengage ourselves the better for us and for them.

Respectfully yours,

KARL LOEWENSTEIN.

SEATTLE, WASH.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We write to congratulate you on your stand in the Senate on the Vietnam resolution, and to encourage you to continue to try to voice constructive alternatives to this very complicated problem.

We are supporting the positions of people like yourself, and trying to see that they reach as wide an audience as possible.

Sincerely yours,

ANNE M. and DAVID R. STADLER.

P.S.—If your office could also convey this message to the office of Senator GRUENING from Alaska, we would like to extend it to him as well.

CORONA DEL MAR, CALIF.,  
August 18, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to take this time to express my hearty support on your position regarding our entire conduct to date in South Vietnam. I am particularly proud that you had the courage to again be one of the tiny Senate minority who would express their opposition.

You presented the facts most sincerely and effectively and from what I read you received very good press coverage on your views. Very serious mistakes are presently being made in our national policies and it would be nice to be able to see some way of altering this imprudent and rather disastrous course in southeast Asia. The United Nations is fully prepared to accept these responsibilities and each of these that it can successfully tackle and accomplish helps to build a stronger and more effective U.N. Are we so afraid of our position in the U.N.?

I would appreciate your comments regarding the compromise rider of DIRKSEN and MANSFIELD on the issue of legislative apportionment. I can understand GOLDWATER's need for delaying this constitutional requirement, but cannot quite understand the Democratic Party's need and presumed support of DIRKSEN's rider. Just what are these facts as you see them?

It is both interesting and frightening to see the clear and distinct parallels between the birth and development of fascism in Germany and the beginnings I see in the rise of BARRY GOLDWATER. A rereading of Fromm's book, "Escape From Freedom," helps to explain the rising force of America's brand of fascism. I think that GOLDWATER's use of the word "extremism" helps to further delude the American people. I am reminded that Hitler never was elected, and I would guess that BARRY's "army" will play an equally dirty game of politics. It would be nice to think that America's intellect is superior to Germany's and that the intellectual resistance will be much more vigorous. Will it?

Best regards,

GEORGE R. HERMACH.

LA JOLLA, CALIF.,  
August 19, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my deep gratitude for the lonely and courageous stand which you have taken against the war in Vietnam, for your clarifying of the issue whenever possible (notably in the article in the August Progressive), and especially for your vote against the resolution to give the President power to expand the war.

One negative vote, in a situation and at a time like this, can have historic signifi-



cance. It may be the nucleus for a rift in a policy which looks unalterable. I believe reality and right are both on your side.

With gratitude and admiration,  
Yours sincerely,

HELEN M. BEARDSLEY.

WEST SLAYTON, OREG.,  
August 21, 1964.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Just received your letter on the Johnson and McNamara war in Vietnam. The Kennedy and Eisenhower war in Cuba, the Truman police action in Korea. I am against the whole kit and kaboodle and I would advise the foreign aid to git out of business lock, stock, and barrel. I have oodles and gobs of friends that feel the same way I do; (2) Now then I am for a graduated income tax, graduated production tax, graduated ownership tax.

Keeping in mind maximum efficiency with a minimum-size operation; (3) all Federal incomes to be divided 50-50 with the State or States from whence the income came from; (4) the States to run their own health, welfare, and education; (5) and I am for Senator WAYNE MORSE most of the time.

Respectfully your friend,  
Mr. and Mrs. C. A. KEIRSEY.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my gratitude to you for having voted against the "predated declaration of war" which your colleagues approved last week.

It was gratifying to see that at least one legislator had the good sense to call a spade a spade and spoke out against the questionable and reprehensible and hasty act committed by our government in reprisal for acts equally reprehensible.

It seems that many of our leaders have not yet fully realized that conditions in the world in 1964 are different from any previous time in man's history and therefore require different treatment.

There must be thousands of us appreciating your independent thinking. I certainly do.

Respectfully yours,  
KENNETH R. BURLEY.

THE BAPTIST STUDENT CENTER,  
San Jose, Calif., August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to thank you most heartily for your stand on Vietnam, and for your excellent article in the last "Progressive."

If we don't commit suicide over Vietnam, you will have a great deal of credit for saving us and the world.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE L. COLLINS.

BRONX, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Applause for a sane voice in this new hysteria around the Vietnam war.

My wire to President Johnson, "You are falling into GOLDWATER's trap by escalating war in Vietnam without justification," has gone unanswered.

Your courage and independence give hope, however, that others will join you—and that we'll achieve peace in our lifetime.

Sincerely yours,

MILDRED NULLER.

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to express my alarm and sorrow at the deterioration in Vietnam. With the possible extension of armed conflict with all its profound tragic consequences to millions of people.

I support your courageous stand with my humble appreciation.

May it strengthen your efforts to seek peace to end these hostilities so all nations and people will bring these problems to a conference and seek solution with peace and justice in our hearts.

Very truly yours,

MAUDE DOOLITTLE.  
SYDNEY J. BIRDSEY.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I am writing to express my appreciation for the speech you made August 4 criticizing American policy in Vietnam. The only outcome of such a policy could be sending more and more men to fight, exchange of fire with North Vietnam, bombings and finally war unless there is a reversal because the people do not want such a war. I was appalled at the unanimous approval (with your exception) of President Johnson's "brinkmanship," which is certainly the opposite of statesmanship.

Thank you again for bringing a little light and clarity (and sanity) to the Senate.

FRANCES SCAFIDI.  
(Mrs. A. Scafidi).

CLEVELAND HEIGHTS, OHIO.

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Yesterday I wired President Johnson urging him to support your position on Vietnam and to call for negotiations through the Geneva conference for a settlement of the southeast Asia crisis. It is good to know that are at least two Members of the U.S. Senate who are willing to stand up to the military and refuse their blessing on this war—carrying on where the French left off. The French were involved because Indochina was their colony. We say we are involved for the sake of "freedom," even though the man we are supporting never won his place through anything more democratic than a military coup. We are supporting a government that is not being supported by the people. Over and over I've said this to the President but I may as well have saved my breath to cool my porridge.

I shall not wear you down with a long harangue. I want simply to thank you for your courage and to commend you. I wish that our Senators from North Carolina had the same courage.

I did not know that Senator GRUENING had stood with you until the newscast a few hours ago. I am sending him a copy of this note—as well as my own two Senators, Mr. ERVIN and Mr. JORDAN.

Cordially,

CHARLOTTE ADAMS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am grateful to you for the humanity, good judgment, and courage which you showed in your latest speech upon the situation in Vietnam.

It is tragic that American officials seem so willing to sacrifice American lives and risk the danger of an atomic war to support the

interests of the government cliché in South Vietnam.

With thanks and sincere good wishes,  
ANNA NACKE.

ST. LOUIS, MO.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Because you will receive many letters condemning your vote on the South Vietnam situation resolution, I want you to know that there are some people who do support your stand. When I finish this brief note to you, I intend to write a similar one to Senator GRUENING.

All this turmoil growing out of torpedoes that missed their mark is ridiculous. Furthermore, how are we to be sure that the whole "attack" was not a fabrication on the part of our "ally", South Vietnam, in order to get us more thoroughly involved in the war, as the Kahnh government had been urging us to be in the weeks immediately preceding the attack? Or, worse, could it be "the invisible government" in action again?

At any rate, let us hope that we will not be pushed over the brink by whoever is doing the pushing.

In closing, let me add that I hope you will continue to be able to maintain your lonely stand and to vote the courage of your convictions. You are not alone, and I do hope others who think as I, and my husband, do, will write to tell you so.

Sincerely,

BARBARA B. WOLFE.  
Mrs. Alvin W. Wolfe.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: God give you strength to continue lifting your voice in this era of falsehood and deceptions.

Surely you are a greater patriot than those who would send our men to be killed and to kill others.

May your tribe increase.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. HATTIE PASKIN.

LOS ANGELES.

SENATOR MORSE ASSAILS U.S. AS "PROVOCATEUR"

WASHINGTON.—Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, yesterday assailed the United States as a "provocateur" in South Vietnam and said he will not support a "predated declaration of war" in Asia.

MORSE, a consistent critic of U.S. maintenance of troops in South Vietnam, voiced his opposition as the Senate's leadership mapped plans to push through a resolution backing President Johnson in whatever steps are necessary to preserve peace and freedom in southeast Asia.

He charged, in a Senate speech, that the incidents which inspired the resolution—on which the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees will meet at 9 a.m. today—"is as much the doing of the United States as it is the doing of North Vietnam."

The resolution, expected to have overwhelming bipartisan backing, is expected to be introduced in the Senate tomorrow.

MORSE charged that a forerunner to the attacks on the U.S. destroyers was a known bombardment by South Vietnamese naval vessels of "two North Vietnamese islands within 3 to 5 or 6 miles of the main coast of North Vietnam."

He said the "clear implication" of that incident is that the U.S. Navy stood guard while vessels of South Vietnam shelled North Vietnam.



MORSE declared that the United States has much to lose and little to gain by continuing its "unilateral military action in southeast Asia, unsanctioned by the United Nations, and unaccompanied by allies" and should "strike a blow for peace" at the conference table.

"I shall not support any substitute which takes the form of a predated declaration of war," he declared. "I shall not support any delegation of the duty of Congress—of Congress—not the President—to determine an issue of war or peace.

"I shall not support any substitute which takes the form of military action to expand the war or that encourages our puppets in Saigon to expand the war."

ANN ARBOR, MICH.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing this letter about your dissent vote regarding the resolution backing President Johnson's action in southeast Asia.

I think you are absolutely right in your vote. We should gradually remove all our forces from South Vietnam. I think the French found this out after so many years there.

Thank you.  
Sincerely yours,

CLYDE J. BENNETT.

EDGARTOWN, MASS.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: May I congratulate you for your courageous stand against administration policy on Vietnam. Believe me, there are millions of Americans who feel as you do. Please keep up the good fight.

Sincerely yours,  
SAMUEL PRESCOTT FAY, Jr.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your courageous and intelligent stand on the Vietnam-Gulf of Tonkin question. We need more intelligence with our courage.

I have spent the past 5 years teaching chemistry in India, and hope to return next year. I have seen that the problems in Asia are not primarily military. We need time, not war, in order to help Asians with their task of building freedom in Asia. As India well knows, freedom from foreign rule and from communism does not insure freedom from hunger, from the misuse of freedom, etc. And for most of the fathers and mothers who are seeing their children go hungry, freedom from hunger is more important than political freedom.

We need time. The unwillingness to practice the art of Yankee trading and disproportionate retaliation are not the best ways to obtain the time we need.

Thank you for your statements and vote.  
Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. BAUER.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for the comments you made on the floor of the Senate in regard to the Vietnam crisis. Yours is the sole voice of sanity in our Government. We join you in refusing to support a deliber-

ately conceived "predated declaration of war" to quote your excellent statement.

Sincerely,

RALPH SACKS.

CAZENOVIA, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I want to tell you how much I have respected and admired you for the wise analysis and counsel you have been giving the American people about Vietnam. If we had followed your advice months ago, we could have avoided our present dangerous predicament. Your courageous stand these last few terrible days has been an inspiration to us all.

Keep up your good work.

Very sincerely yours,

JANE GREY ANDERSON.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,  
Iowa City, Iowa, August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your courageous stand against the administration's reckless policy in Vietnam. Someday it will be generally acknowledged that you were right and the rest of your colleagues wrong about this issue. In the meantime, I hope you will keep up the good work for a long time to come.

Yours,

CHRISTOPHER LASCH,  
Associate Professor of History.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I am completely behind your position for getting U.S. troops out of Vietnam and using the U.N. rather than the military to preserve world peace. Thank you, sir, so much for being sane. The rational world, even if they don't realize it, congratulate you on your intelligent stand.

Thank you,

Sincerely,

MARION SHATUN.

DETROIT, MICH.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for the fortitude you have shown in withstanding the blandishments of powerful interests apparently bent on dragging this country into a war thousands of miles from our shores, meanwhile neglecting domestic issues crying for attention.

Yours may be a lone voice but you are on the side of truth.

Yours very truly,

WESLEY M. WITWER.

DALLAS, TEX.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. LYNDON JOHNSON,  
President, United States,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Our present dilemma in Vietnam points up how fantastically ridiculous it is for us to continue to bar Red China from the United Nations. If that country were a member, grievances could be taken before the U.N. and we would have some hope for a solution of the problem.

To Asians I can imagine that your statement that we "have acted and always will act in self-defense," goes over like a lead balloon. They must draw a parallel between this country and Germany and Italy when the later two countries were miles from their own country bombing the devil out of people.

For the sake of God and humanity, let's go about bringing an end to the war in Vietnam.

Very sincerely,

CORDY E. HALL.

Copy to Hon. WAYNE MORSE.

#### LIDICE IS NOT FORGOTTEN

EDITOR, THE RECORD: It was 22 years ago today (June 10, 1942) that Hitler and his Nazis destroyed and razed the little village of Lidice \* \* \* in Czechoslovakia.

That morning Hitler's Nazis took out every male in the village from 16-year-old boys to the oldest men, and lined them up and mowed them down with machine-gun fire. They huddled the women in army trucks and took them to concentration camps, and scattered the children throughout Germany. The entire village was stripped; \* \* \* the buildings were razed with army bulldozers, and the stones and lumber were carted away; the ground was leveled; only a part of the foundation of the old village church and of the Horak home are seen. A little brook runs through the village. \* \* \*

In 1926 I passed through Lidice on my way to Kladno. My friend John Jindra of Emerson visited the old site of Lidice last year. \* \* \* The Czecks have have left it as it was the day the Nazis destroyed it. But on its boundary has been built a memorial park with rose gardens, and the rose plants growing there were sent from all parts of the world. The men and families have a fitting memorial.

After a lapse of 23 years my wife and I went to Czechoslovakia. We arrived in Praha August 13, 1961, the day the Communists finished the Berlin wall. The Czecks of Praha were celebrating the news: they said they should put a wall along the border so there would be no more Lidices.

After 2 days in Praha I went to the village where my mother was born more than 100 years ago. It is a village similar to Lidice. Its name is Maly Bor—Small Boro.

We spoke about the Berlin wall. The Czechoslovaks, the Yugoslavs, and the Polish nation want the wall to stand. They know that had Hitler and the Nazis won, within 40 to 50 years there would have been no Polish, Yugoslav, or Czech schools; all would have been Nazified and German would be the only language spoken. They want no united Germany. They will unite to fight to keep their nationalities. There was once a great Austro-Hungarian empire. What is left is Austria—population, about 8 million. They are independent of Germany. East Germany, with a population of about 18 million, can get along independently.

We know the Berlin wall is a monstrosity. The murdering and shooting down of innocent boys and fathers; the razing of an entire village; the carting off of its women and children; the wiping it off the face of the earth by man, not by natural forces, is a greater monstrosity.

WILLIAM ZABRANSKY, Jr.  
LITTLE FERRY, June 10, 1964.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.,  
August 13, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for speaking out on the Vietnam situation.

Yours was a voice of reason. I only hope that others will be strengthened by your courage and insight.

This is not a time for unity toward war. I wish that you were the Senator from my State. I am thankful that you represent the ideas and ideals of interest to me.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY ARON, Ph. D.,  
Professor of Psychology.



SAN LORENZO, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to commend you for the stand you have taken during the present Vietnam crisis. As a wife and mother of four children I am deeply concerned that other Senators and Congressmen have not taken such a similar courageous stand. I have written both my Congressman and Senator urging them to do all in their power to see that our Nation acts through the United Nations to keep from starting a nuclear war. I have written a similar request to the President of the United States. Please keep on supporting your suggested course of action—the only sensible way of thinking in the atomic age.

Sincerely,

Mrs. RUSSELL TAUSHECK.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As a student of political science I have often been disturbed by the seeming broad agreement on an American foreign policy which often lacks any sense. Now and then I have come across statements you have made in an attempt to reorient our foreign policy. However, it is almost impossible to locate any of your speeches in the New York press. Indeed only the Times mentions your statements but there is rarely an amplification. I would appreciate any reprints of your speeches on foreign aid and southeast Asia. If this would not be possible, an indication of where I might locate the aforementioned would be appreciated.

Respectfully,

RONALD BAYER.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,  
August 9, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Before another day passes, let me express my hearty agreement with your remarks on the Vietnam crisis, and those reasons you expressed for refusing to join in the congressional vote of confidence and authorization of greatly extended powers to the President.

I had a queasy feeling that this affair in the Bay of Tonkin was nothing more than a clever political ploy by the administration to confound the Goldwater opposition. Since Johnson's action was essentially what GOLDWATER has been clamoring for, this put GOLDWATER in a position of enforced agreement with the Johnson move, this checkmating (or at least stalemating) GOLDWATER's arguments that the Johnson forces have been "soft" in the Vietnam affair. And President Johnson most probably reasoned that the Communist Chinese would not react with war, and even if they did, they cannot react with nuclear arms, and with the Sino-Soviet dispute in force, Russia probably would not intervene in such a localized matter. While this calculating may be accurate, and may have "paid off," it consists of the greatest immorality known to 20th century man, namely the gambling with the entire populations of the Northern Hemisphere.

It has been told me, over and over again, that we should not expect "morality" in international affairs. This is why I was so heartened to hear your plea for looking at this issue in a moral light, and for looking at it as . . . say . . . the Turks are now looking at it, doing precisely what we did, only this time against Cyprus. Tit for tat, they say. And, of course, they are right . . . if we were.

The news media made the worst of your remarks, and never did tell the listening or reading public here in Minneapolis who the other Senator was who voted with you against the congressional support vote. I would be curious to know who he was, and his reasons for voting against the overwhelming tide.

Thank you for being, as you always have been, our most courageous Senator. I only wish a third party movement had a chance in America. I'd organize it, and nominate you. Seriously, however . . . such a thing is desperately needed. Have you any thoughts on this you could share with us here?

Sincerely,

BETTE CHAMBERS.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to compliment you on your display of integrity and courage in opposing our Nation's gleeful drift toward disaster in Asia and moral loss everywhere. The events which led up to our air attacks against North Vietnam territory are not yet clear to this writer. However, the scale of our retaliation—which attacked "supporting facilities" as well as warships was completely out of proportion to the stated provocation. Restraint, not over reacting, would have been a more fitting response for a nation that is both secure in the strength and convinced of the righteousness of its cause.

I cannot conceive that our Nation chooses to be the implacable enemy of one-fourth of mankind.

I would like very much to receive from your office available reports on the nature of our Nation's involvement in Vietnam and the nature of the regime we are supporting there with our blood and money. I treat most official statements on the crisis there with much skepticism.

Respectfully yours,

DAVID EUGENE BLANK.

HOLLYWOOD CULTURAL CLUB,  
August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We members of Hollywood Cultural Club of Los Angeles, Calif., admire and support wholeheartedly your sane and courageous stand on the grave situation in South Vietnam.

Your views and opinion are correct and true to the facts prevalent in southeast Asia and particularly in Vietnam.

Therefore we all join you in the righteous fight against this undeclared, by our Congress, war to cease the losses of young American lives.

We wish you many scores of healthy and fruitful years of life in our beautiful country; we also wish you to retain the strength of your convictions.

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL ROSENTHAL, *President.*  
DORA H. SHAPIRO, *Secretary.*

WILLOWDALE, ONTARIO, CANADA,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.,  
United States of America.

HONORED SIR: Let me express my sincere appreciation for your moral and political courage. I am sure the thinking world regrets that you are not the President of the United States of America.

It is an insult to the average intelligence to assert that a peanut nation like North Vietnam would dare to risk annihilation by an unprovoked attack on the mighty United States of America.

President Johnson strives to steal the thunder from Mr. GOLDWATER—and—will do so—at any cost. Hence the present crisis.

Similar to Korea, we can lose a "conventional" war in North Vietnam—the same enemy, on his own ground.

Seen in action, this breed of fighting man has no equal.

The Commies stole the blueprint from Rome; grab the kid at birth, close his mind, but eliminate the fear of hell.

Korea saw mere boys from Florida and California, who never had seen snow, unable to climb steep hills under a 70-pound pack, slaughtered like sheep. Frostbite casualties were enormous. These kids were up against warmly clad "monkeys" with a bag of rice at their belt, and a burp gun, who skipped up and down steep rocks that would scare a goat. The tough lads who made the hilltop, soon ran out of ammunition. The trucks with "ammo" were sidetracked into a ditch on the only road up front. The beer and ice cream trucks, plus Bob Hope's entertainment mob, had priority.

In any conventional war, men who take a car to buy some smokes are no match for these millions of spindly legged Commies who can—somehow—pack 140 pounds, bare-footed up hill, drop his load and be ready to fight. And in this new job in North Vietnam we have the selfsame setup as in Korea. Hence the idea of hiring the same kind of breed in South Vietnam, asking them to fight for money. The Commies have the "legs" and also a belief we Catholics envy; we are not ready to die for the notion like Commies do. North Vietnam wrecked quite a flock of French governments, and licked 600,000 French troops. President De Gaulle must now be dying laughing. He knew. Now American lads are going to die sprawl French graves before it is over.

Anyone ask Mr. Johnson what he will do with North and South Vietnam once the war is won; if ever?

Can we rule southeast Asia which will be boiling with a supreme hatred when it is all over?

Only history will prove that Senator WAYNE MORSE was about the only man in the United States of America who had the ability to see and think clearly on foreign affairs.

Thank you, sir, for reading this letter.

Yours respectfully,

M. J. CAVENEY.

AUGUST 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I should like to express my admiration for your courage in voting against the resolution on Vietnam, and may I say sir, that I completely agree with you.

I have written to President Johnson voicing these opinions.

Respectfully yours,

SYMA KAUFMAN.

SEATTLE, WASH.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I saw a small article in the Seattle P.I. where you opposed the Senators' move to really get us into this darn war for which I thank you.

Lately, we have been fed on war propaganda so much that it is getting sickening. And this P.I. is about the worst.

Yours truly,

GEORGE AUSTIN.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Senator MORSE.

KIND SIR: We, a majority of American people, extend our felicitations and praise for your courage in criticizing the actions of war by our President. Were a referendum instituted probably 80 to 85 percent of our population would be opposed to our action in either South or North Vietnam.



We will not fall for the pentagonal shibboleth of Communist aggression in order to further the former's military aggression.

People are asking what are we doing there, knowing we support military government at the rate of \$1½ million per day.

I, as well as many of our citizens, would be ready to bear arms against any enemy approaching our shores.

May health and courage maintain your logic and wisdom in this matter and others where danger confronts the human race to the point of annihilation.

Good luck to you.

Jos. LISS.

ROCHESTER, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I have read your views on the U.S. policy in Vietnam which is in violation of the U.N. Charter.

I should like to inform you that I agree with your viewpoint and, in view of the recent U.S. military action, I also support your position in the Senate.

I feel that military force is no substitute for peaceful negotiation in Vietnam.

Very truly,

P. A. BODEN.

GREEN'S FARM, CONN.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I heartily approve of your stand in refusing to approve of the resolution backing the President's stand in regard to southeast Asia.

It takes great courage to raise a minority voice of protest. I hope you will continue to do so. I also hope there will be a reevaluation of our presence in southeast Asia. I believe we have "no business to be there," except to uphold our prestige, and feel that the position of our warships in the Gulf of Tonkin is provocative in the extreme, just as that of Russian ships in the Caribbean would be to us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. DONALD C. HARRISON.

CLEVELAND, OHIO,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is most heartening to know that you have taken a forthright stand in favor of a sensible program for dealing with the situation in Vietnam.

I am quite unable to understand why the United Nations has not yet been requested to send forces into this troubled spot. U.S. unilateral action there bespeaks an arrogant attitude which ill-becomes the leading democracy of the world.

Your stand is admirable.

Respectfully yours,

EDNA K. VON PISCHKE.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senators WAYNE MORSE, ERNEST GRUENING,  
U.S. Senate.

HONORABLE SIR: Salutations, in that one voice or two the courage to stand by their honest convictions. Great leadership "fer shure," if every voice eager to cry "me too," just to be on the side of popular bravado.

It happens to be the isolated opinion of this humble human that Vietnam—nay—nor any other part of the globe is worth the life of any subject in pursuit of either aggression or defending it.

From this, an artistic picture of how much value one lone human able to put upon the

way of life in any part of our "as is" world where milling at the effects of ills, that is the thing to whoop it up over, rather than the causes. Nor can any evidence for faith be conjured for a better world with due and humane respect for all life. With no faith for the betterment of the human animal, what a far cry any hope for the lower.

Very respectfully,

Mrs. JEAN MONTAGUE.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

DEAR SIR: Just to let you know that a great many people would be glad that you voted against Johnson in dispute with Vietnam. If they had the opportunity to be informed, and to have read your previous speeches.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. J. E. BIALLAS.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: In the newspapers on the west coast we have been getting only "official" explanations and speculation on developments in Vietnam. Only by chance did I hear on radio any coverage of your views. As usual, on a major foreign policy issue we are getting absolutely no dialog.

I can't say that I support your views because they are not making the press. However, I urge you to maintain vocally an independent position in the hope that a more sane view of this business will gain currency.

Yours truly,

DANIEL J. ROLAND.

WEST COVINA, CALIF.,  
August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Applaud your stand on Vietnam and admire the courage which it must have taken to voice such a view.

Sincerely,

PATRICIA MARION.

DENVER, COLO.,  
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to congratulate you on your position regarding Vietnam.

We should get out of there. The associate editor of the Denver Post, who has been visiting Vietnam and southeast Asia, reports in the Denver Post that the people of South Vietnam are no more prepared or capable of governing themselves than we are of living on the moon.

Have the people who have been promoting this action in Vietnam thought this whole business through? How many puppet governments (inefficient) are we going to set up over there? and for how many decades?

Sincerely yours,

S. N. BURCH.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I cannot thank you enough for the position you have taken in opposing our actions in southeast Asia. More strength and courage to you because you are so right.

Sincerely,

LILETTE HINDIN.

BELMONT, VT.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My husband and I would like to offer you our warm congratulations and support regarding your recent

statements on Vietnam. At a time when conformity is more and more the rule, no matter what the cost, it is heartening to know that there are even a few people like yourself who are unafraid to come forward with sane and honest criticism of a policy which is surely insane and can only lead to greater conflict.

I would hope that you have received many letters and telegrams such as this one, for you certainly deserve them.

Most sincerely,

ROBERT and LOUISE DE CORMIER.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for being honest and courageous in your vote re the resolution on Vietnam.

FLORENCE I. HOSCH.

NEW YORK,  
NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a note to tell you how much I admire the position you took today in the Foreign Relations Committee hearings.

It is, I am sure, a lonely time for you, standing against the combined jingoism of the Pentagon, the press, and your own colleagues.

This is to let you know that you are not alone.

Best wishes.

KENNETH MILLS.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SIR: Bless you for protesting this miserable Vietnamese war while all the arrogant super patriots fall in line. Have you heard the song which says, "When will we ever learn? This is what puzzles and worries thousands of us. Thank you again, sir.

PAULA KLINGHOFFER.

AMARILLO, TEX.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: Congratulations. You need congratulations for not going along with the crowd and becoming a puppet string for Johnson to manipulate. Congratulations for thinking alone and not with the crowd and voting your convictions and with your "good conscience." You stand out a greater man than those who think they must let Johnson pull the puppet strings for them, because if the puppet does not work they are afraid Johnson will lay it aside, throw it away, and get him another puppet on the Hill.

The press nor the Hill did not constantly condemn Johnson during this crisis and blame him for the crisis as it did to John F. Kennedy. No. They did not go back and review all of Johnson's braggings and boastings and gleating about our going into North Vietnam and taking over. Johnson thought his speaking was carrying a big stick and that Red China would lay down and play dead. Since it did not, he used a western-pictorial saying—"shoot to kill." I believe the saying is "shoot him dead," but isn't shoot to kill makes them dead? Yes, our dear small-minded press will not review all of Johnson's spouting at the mouth that got us in the trouble, because we are a perfect nation and play to win under Johnson no matter how we play.

The press constantly attacked and blamed President Kennedy, but not Johnson. Johnson had advertised his major policy speech for California, I remember. His loud talk and boasting had it advertised quite some time before the day came. Then he made his speech, and the reporters got them a magnifying glass picking out sentence after sentence trying to find that major foreign



policy sentence. Sure enough after much straining of the eyes the sentence was found and stressed and stressed and stressed. It was that the war was being carried into North Vietnam. Since Johnson had had this stressed I guess he thought that we could move ships and planes and equipment at will without retaliation.

Last week, though, Johnson got nervous over his major policy speech and instead of blaming himself and his boastings, he blamed the press for making it dangerous stressing the fact that we were going into North Vietnam. The press, being on Johnson's side, the side of bluffing the people, took it like a man the accusations the President handed out to them. If this were Kennedy, the press would have crucified him more and more instead of accepting the blame. That would have been managing the news or keeping things secret or making policies without the people knowing—they would not have taken the accusations like a man like they did under Johnson. Was Johnson then carrying the war to North Vietnam and the Red Chinese revealed it all with the flareup?

Who really came out ahead? This might stop Johnson for a while in spreading the war as that little incident could have embarrassed the United States. But the press will not review all of Johnson's mouthing out his feelers trying to find out how to perform his foreign policies in favor to the name Johnson—that would glorify Johnson and would get no criticism. So we become a perfect Nation which is infallible. The blame is all on the other side. Johnson's mouth did not stir up a thing as he was only feeling so he could do everything just as the people wanted him to, to get his votes. That is the little way Johnson has always practiced politics, but as President he is going have to learn that you do it because it is right and that the United States is not perfect and every little rotten thing United States performs will some day be counted against her. Oh. Johnson is advertised as the man that gets things done without paying any attention to the means. Some day the means will teach us that everything we accomplish is held against us because we did not pay any attention to the way we got where we arrived at our goal. Johnson will pay some day for the ugly way he does things just to put stars in Johnson's crown. So, congratulations, Honorable MORSE for a man who thinks and who does not believe the United States is perfect in all its dealings and who has not become a puppet that has to go along with Johnson and his manipulating. Thank you for not becoming another "it" for Johnson to control but is keeping your human character of being a "thou."

Sincerely,

EDNA ADAMS.

TRACY, CALIF.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Just a word to you in regard to your protests against Congress giving Johnson "blanket authority to wage war and the White House having too much power." I thank God for men like you and Senator ERNEST GRUENING of Alaska. God bless you both.

Sincerely,

JAMES C. MCCUSKER.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I congratulate you for your courage in standing up against the rest of your spineless colleagues who think that freedom is best served by rattling our rockets. Your stand brings to mind another futile attempt by a courageous Congresswoman from Montana some 20 years ago.

Certainly the road to moderation serves freedom much better than winning useless wars that only prove that our weapons are superior and more numerous.

Yours sincerely,

MICHAEL DAVID.

BELLINGHAM, WASH.,  
August 10, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to thank you for your courage and good judgment in speaking out as you have relative to the situation into which we have been thrust in Vietnam.

Why our leadership insists upon brutalizing another generation of our children in the name of "peace" and "morality" is something that only Satan could know. It appears that the people of this Nation are not going to experience reality and learn the proper lessons of history until they have been blasted out of their own cities and their own homes. Apparently they cannot learn from the record of the past which lies open before them, they must take their example from the comic strips, the television set and the movies.

Don't stop fighting, and God bless you.

Very truly yours,

JOHN R. KELLY.

ORLANDO, FLA.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to thank you for speaking against the war in Vietnam. We have no moral right there or in the Gulf of Tonkin.

You and Senator GRUENING are the only ones to lift your voices against our presence in the southeast Asia region.

Do all the others believe that our wealth and military power give us a right to dictate to all the world?

"Our intervention is very praiseworthy, but what their neighbors do is aggression." How much of the world sees it in that light with us?

Again I am glad you speak out.

Sincerely,

BERTHA E. DAVIS.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have been heartened for some months by your honest and resolute stand on Vietnam.

Your courageous stand was continued in the vote yesterday giving a blank check to President Johnson in his disastrous course. I have expressed this separately, and at greater length to Senator GRUENING.

The two of you certainly stand out from the herd of Congressmen—egregiously (obs.). Please keep it up.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT MEETON.

P.S.—I have also sent Senator GRUENING a carbon copy of a letter I sent President Johnson following his brief live television announcement the other night. If you are curious, ask him to let you see it.

DISTRICT 65, RETAIL, WHOLESALE &  
DEPARTMENT STORE UNION, AFL-  
CIO,

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The enclosed document is a copy of a letter sent to President Johnson today.

In light of your courageous leadership, we want you to know what we are doing.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

DAVID LIVINGSTON,

President.

To All Members of District 65:

By decision of the general council consisting of all the stewards of our union, the following letter was sent to President Johnson. We urge that you read it and discuss it with your shopmates.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Approximately 1,000 stewards constituting the General Council of District 65, representing more than 30,000 workers, met tonight and discussed the crisis in southeast Asia. With 4 abstentions and 10 opposed, we voted to send you this letter. We met as loyal Americans, good trade-unionists and consistent supporters of you, Mr. President and your administration. As a matter of fact, our main business tonight was detailed preparation to assure your reelection and the defeat of your dangerous opponent.

We are sure that you would want to hear how the elected representatives of our members feel. Of course we condemn an attack on American ships in international waters. We cannot understand what motivated the attack or its ultimate purpose. Whether it is a provocation or a trap, as some newspapers say, we could not know.

What we do know and deeply feel is that this event must not be permitted to become the first act in a great war. Some of us have felt for some time that there was real question as to our American interest and our moral position in supporting a government in Vietnam which, according to the press, has little support among its people. Some share the criticism of Senator MORSE and feel that the many American boys who died in Vietnam may indeed have died in vain and that our extensive military buildup led to this crisis.

Be all this as it may, what is uppermost in our minds and hearts, now, is the hope and prayer that we are not headed for the big third world war with all the destruction and horror it will bring to our country, to the world, to our people, and to our children.

It has been suggested by some, Mr. President, that you are receiving conflicting advice, like that received by the late President Kennedy at the time of the Cuban crisis from the so-called hawks and so-called doves. At that time, according to reports Mr. President, you were one whose voice was raised for restraint, with a happy result.

We are told that there are now some whose line of reasoning is something like this: The real enemy is China. Red China is growing in strength and in a number of years she will be much stronger, perhaps acquiring atomic capability. At this moment, China and the Soviet Union are at odds and it is argued the Soviet Union will not support China in any war with the United States. Therefore, these hawks suggest, now is the time for a confrontation with Red China at the moment of her relative weakness. The hawks welcome every crisis in Asia as an opportunity to take on and defeat Red China. The hawks want to shoot, not talk.

Such a policy is morally bankrupt, criminally dangerous. It is also, Mr. President, unworkable, doomed to failure. The stakes are much too great to depend upon guesswork and speculation. If there were to be a war between the United States and Red China, fought with conventional weapons, it is hard to see how we can win. If it were a war fought with nuclear weapons, it is hard to see how the Soviet Union could remain outside. Mr. President, we implore you, do not buy the speculation of the hawks who advocate a showdown with China. Such a policy would be a disaster for America. It is also reported that the hawks are advocating a deeper involvement in Vietnam with larger



numbers of American troops. Again, Mr. President, history has some lessons. If the United States were to be deeply involved in a war in Indochina, fought with conventional weapons, it is hard to see how we can avoid the tragic results, the bitter defeat the French suffered in this very area, 10 years ago. Again, if such a war were fought with atomic weapons, it is hard to see how it could fail to become the first act in a third world war of atomic disaster.

We know, Mr. President, that our information is limited. We rely on the press for reports and analysis that are not always dependable. Nonetheless, we feel constrained to tell you of our fears and our feelings. It is our fervent prayer that the fighting stop and that we can find a solution without a war, a small war or a big war.

Our country is so strong, so powerful. We do not need to prove how resolute or tough we are by overwhelming a tiny foe with our great power. Let us prove our wisdom—our concern for all humanity—by seeking and finding the way of peace.

We are confident that you understand and sympathize with us. We hope that in the anxious hours that lie ahead, in the moments of decision that will develop, you will think of us and the thoughts and feelings we have expressed.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID LIVINGSTON,  
President, District 65, Retail, Wholesale  
& Department Store Union, AFL-CIO.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,

DEAR SENATOR: We have read your article in the Progressive, also say you on TV this evening regarding Vietnam. We are with you 100 percent, and we think President Johnson needs someone like you to advise him.

Sincerely,

MARVIN REID HARTLEY.  
MARJORIE HARTLEY.  
CULVER CITY, CALIF.

NORRISTOWN, PA.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: You must feel all alone in your action in the Senate not backing President Johnson's actions in southeast Asia. Your stand took a lot of courage on your part. It is a shame there aren't more Senators and Representatives of your caliber who are not afraid to think for themselves, and can see further than "today" but can look into the future and surmise the effect of their actions in the time to come. I feel that in the Vietnamese situation Congress long ago abdicated its responsibilities and abandoned its constitutional rights to declare war. This "police action" of ours should have been studied and discussed openly so that the public could have a better understanding of our reasons for being there. Maybe alternative actions could have come out with open discussion.

Columnists James Reston and Jay Hayden also raised questions of the advisability of the quick united front behind the President's strong military action in Vietnam. James Reston says, "It may be wise to take a day or two to analyze where we are and where we are going." Jay Hayden says: "But lingering in the background is a belief among many Americans that the United States had no business meddling in Vietnam in the first place, and that the quicker we get out of it, the better" (the Evening Bulletin, Friday, Aug. 7, 1964).

Also, in the same edition of the Bulletin, there was an article headed "FBI Is Probing Student Group on North Vietnam Aid." I

am sure you know of the story of the four Haverford College students who openly, with no secrecy intended, advertised their purpose of sending medical aid through the American Red Cross to the soldiers in North Vietnam, with one purpose in mind, to bring attention to the community of their dissatisfaction with the policy of the U.S. action in Vietnam. Why is the FBI investigating these students? The implications scare me. Are colleges and universities no longer allowed to encourage free thought in their students? Without the voices of the dissenters—how long can a democratic form of government survive?

Thank you very much for all you have done to encourage some dialog on this unhappy situation.

Sincerely,

JOAN GLUCKMAN  
Mrs. Howard Gluckman.

KALAMAZOO, MICH.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Many thanks for your splendid article in the Progressive, August 1964, "Humpty Dumpty in Vietnam" which expresses not only my own view but (as I know) also the view of many level-headed Americans everywhere. You (and Senator FULBRIGHT) seem to be the only ones who keep their heads cool and can see the tragic folly of our policy in southeast Asia—a policy, which smells very much like J. Foster Dulles' "brinkmanship."

Politicians and newspapermen and most people take things uncritically too easy, as a sort of "just crusade" to teach "freedom" to the people of Asia. We are appalled at the present escalation of the war game in the Gulf of Tonkin which to me appears as a provocation on our part. That is why I am so grateful to you that you also voted against the approval of these acts in the Foreign Relations Committee.

We really need men like you to help prevent such possible catastrophes which are really not in the best interest of our country. Please keep the honor of America by such valiant stance.

Yours sincerely,

DR. ROBERT FRIEDMANN.  
BETTY FRIEDMANN.

P.S.—I hope that you have gotten many letters of such approval.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept my warm congratulations for your standing up for peace. You were the only one who protested our armed action, and our armed intervention in Vietnam. I wish there were hundreds of you, instead of one in the Senate, to stand up for peace. We, women for peace, appreciate it more than we can tell you in words.

Please keep up your valiant struggle for peace.

Thank you many times.

Yours sincerely,

LUBA BRISKER.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I sincerely hope your health is good.

Just a reminder of my visit to our Senate Chamber September 6, 1963, in which I heard you speak.

Please be advised that I am a great admirer of yours for years.

In my estimation you are my choice for the Chief Executive Office of our United States; i.e., President. Your views are the most constructive in the Senate Chamber today.

Very respectfully yours,

IRVING I. FIXEL.

P.S.—Please answer. Thank you.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I congratulate you on your speech of August 5 on the floor, calling for reason and sense instead of gunboat diplomacy.

I am an English expatriate. In 1956 when my country disgraced itself by acts of war against a smaller nation, I wrote a piece in which I quoted Robert Burns lines:

"Ye hypocrites. Are these your pranks?  
To murder men and gi'e God thanks.  
Restrain yourselves. Proceed no further.  
God will not gi'e you thanks for murder."

It is, however, easier for an expatriate to be critical, though the task of criticizing one's own country is never a pleasant one.

The only act of equal courage to your own I can recall was done by Sidney Silverman, a man of Jewish faith and a stalwart member of the Labor Party in the House of Commons.

When, late in World War II, British bombers set German cities on fire and burned countless thousands the only voice raised in protest amid the savage glee was the voice of this Jewish M.P. who had little reason to like Germans. In speech after speech Silverman pointed out that the end never justified the means and that turning ourselves into savages would not wipe out fascism.

How right he was.

Thank you for your courageous stand. Many Americans would like to say the same thing but are afraid to do so.

I am attempting to get the Washington News to do a feature, not by me, on your speech. It does not deserve to be buried by the press. I will not say "Keep up the good work." You do not need any man's exhortation to do that.

Best wishes,

LOUIS K. MATHER.

LITTLE FERRY, N.J.,  
December 20, 1962.

MR. ALFRED W. KIEFER.

DEAR SIR: Knowing you many years I am taking the liberty of writing you on your debate with Morton Stavis of the Civil Liberties Union on the Lord's Prayer and reading of the Bible in the public schools as published in the RECORD on December 11, 1962. I know you are a busy man and I hope you will find time some night to read my long letter. I am in accord with the Supreme Court. I am in accord with President Kennedy. Let us not remove any stones from the foundation of our Constitution. It has stood for 185 years—if we start removing stones the foundation will crumble in time. I am a man who believes a man without hope or faith—call it prayer if you want, without faith and hope man is lost. But how he does it and where is his personal affair. I will not submit to any particular kind, be it Jewish, Christian, Mohammedan or Hindu or any of the 275 different faiths in our United States. That's a man's private affair.

I am of Catholic parents. My godmother was Mrs. Kozler, my father's sister. My father was high altar boy. My ancestors all were Catholics dating back over 300 years. My mother's church which I visited last year was built in 1113—no Protestants within 75 miles of the village. I've been in that church four times. Mother was 14 years old when she left there. Nearly all her life was spent



in Little Ferry, 12 children—I am No. 3. When they got here nearly 75 years ago there were no churches. She raised us in her home, to be respected citizens. I have been in many churches, mosques, synagogues. Been four times in Europe, also Asia, Africa, and South America. I have lived with a Mohammedan family a few days, read the true history of our Nation. I have an old book on President Jefferson's letters; Jefferson did not believe in the God of the Bible in his Declaration of Independence. He uses the words "Nature's God"—also the words "Almighty, Creator, and providence"—let us look at our New Jersey Indians—they were honorable. Read the history of Sachem Oritanum of the Hagsinsacky Tribe. I am a past sachem of the Susquehanna Tribe Improved Order of the Redmen of America—55 years.

The Indian had no Bible or ever heard of Jesus Christ. He worshiped the Great Spirit, the beauty of nature, the birds, the sunrise, the passing deer, great forest and great waters. He raised his arms to the heavens with open eyes to the glory of the universe. Nature was his God. When lightning struck he ran into a cave or forest—he knew there was something—the Great Spirit. Read the true story of George Washington, a deist, let me quote (the Government of the United States is in no sense founded upon the Christian belief) the Founding Fathers who created our Nation clearly established our form of Government with a secular Constitution, leaving it to the individual, to join any faith or church; our great Lincoln did not belong to any church. Under our Constitution the Hindu, the Buddhist, Mohammedan, Jew, Shintoist has full and equal rights of citizenship regardless of his faith or church. In God we Trust, printed on our money by petition after Lincoln's death is unconstitutional. Placing hand on Bible taking oath is unconstitutional.

In 1923 I was a witness in a \$20,000 suit subpoenaed by the State, plaintiff and defendant, 5 witnesses put their hand on Bible and lied. I took the affirmation. My testimony won the case. It was a jury trial. After 60 years by petition the word of God is put in pledge of allegiance to our flag. Some States say it is unconstitutional. The word God is not mentioned in the Constitution.

Again I believe in a Supreme reality, am a Unitarian—a man must have hope and faith—without hope and faith he is lost. But how he practices is his personal affair. I have always had a free mind. My religion is to do good, help my fellow man, regardless of his nationality or church. President Kennedy said for us to uphold the Supreme Court and the Constitution of our United States. We can pray more at home and in our churches. There are over 350 kinds of faith in the world. The United Nations Assembly have no prayer; they would never get done praying using all the different kinds. The Mohammedans pray 5 times daily—I was there and have good Mohammedan friends in Morocco and Turkey.

I am enclosing a debate I had in Sokol, which may interest you. Let me quote President Thomas Jefferson "Let not difference of opinion break our friendship."

Wishing you health, luck, a merry Christmas and a happy new year.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM ZABRANSKY, JR.

[Part of a paragraph taken from a lengthy article published in Atlantic Monthly magazine, May 1960]

CHURCH AND STATE IN AMERICA

(By Charles J. Rolo)

The legal definition of religion established by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals in Washington, U.S.A.: Religion does

not require a belief in God, but only "devotion to some principle; strict fidelity or faithfulness."

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: We are writing to congratulate you on the stand you have taken against the war in South Vietnam. We further agree that the President should be denied the discretionary power to make war, and that the measure now before the Senate is in direct violation of the Constitution.

Given the present inhumane conditions in southeast Asia, which are due in no small part to the greed and stupidity of previous U.S. policy, a political solution would seem the only answer.

Your statements encourage us to think that there is still some integrity left in the diseased political body of the United States.

You have our best wishes.

Sincerely,

PHILIP B. KEENAN.  
MARY KINYON.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept the expression of my high respect and admiration for stating your opinion and conviction so clearly and courageously in voting against the Vietnam emergency resolution on August 7.

In these times of tense and strained conditions in foreign relations all over the world, giving the President such strong power seems, regardless of the confidence and trust you may have in him, extremely dangerous. As you stated it, it certainly exceeds our constitutional concept of three coordinated branches of Government and, as I would like to add, our basic democratic concept.

Thank you very much for your strong stand.

Very sincerely yours,

FRIEDA N. HELBERG.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend you for your stand in the Vietnam crisis. I heartily agree with your constitutional reasoning.

I have felt for several years that such problems as Vietnam should be referred to the United Nations for arbitration, settlement, and, if necessary, administration. It is foolish to try to solve complex international problems on a unilateral basis when we have a fine international organization in being.

I favor the following legislation:

1. The recently passed Civil Rights Act.
2. Coverage of all workers by social security and unemployment insurance.
3. Medical care for all the people financed by social security.
4. A full employment law which shall guarantee a job to each person who needs and wants a job.
5. Overhaul of the entire farm price support program in order that it may serve its original purpose of protecting the small full-time farmer from economic adversity.
6. Federal aid to education.
7. More public works to build needed schools, hospitals, libraries, and recreational facilities.
8. I oppose attempts by frightened reactionaries to curb the right of a free people to travel where and when they please.

Wishing you good luck and good health I am,

Sincerely yours,

CLAUDE B. GOULET.  
CRANSTON, R.I.

KEMP & COLDWELL,  
El Paso, Tex., August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from State of Oregon,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Please accept my sincere appreciation for your most sensible stand on the stupid war in Vietnam and your continued opposition to foreign aid. I am sure that you receive plenty of letters criticizing you and very few expressing appreciation. I wish that I lived in your State, I would like to vote for you.

I consider myself a true Democrat. My feelings and roots go down very deep, but if the national election was today, I would vote Republican. I protest against the senseless war in Asia, foreign aid, the unbalanced budget, and the utter disregard for the unorganized taxpayer.

Here in El Paso we are concerned about the Chamizal. It concerns us and I know all about it. I know of nothing so uncalled for and stupid. The writer speaks Spanish and has spent considerable time in Mexico and South and Middle America. We are the laughing stock of those countries and people. Mexico has shown its appreciation of what we have done for her by voting consistently against us before the Organization of American States.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

COLBERT COLDWELL.

P.S.—Do not bother to reply to this letter.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Admiration and congratulations for your stand on the Vietnam situation.

Sorry our own Senators from California do not have the courage to speak out and be counted with you.

Sincerely,

JULIA K. ROSENTHAL.

(Copies to Senators THOMAS KUCHEL and PIERRE SALINGER.)

WORTHINGTON, OHIO,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We wish to commend strongly your position stated in the enclosed article from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of August 6 concerning the situation in Vietnam.

For some time we have viewed with deep misgivings the actions of our government in this area and urge you to continue your efforts to seek a peaceful solution of the crisis in southeast Asia around the conference table.

Very sincerely yours,

R. C. HUNTER.  
WAVE A. HUNTER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I believe it was extremely courageous of you and Senator GRUENING to vote against the President's recent punitive action against North Vietnam for its unprovoked torpedo boat attack against our destroyers. Obviously, North Vietnam is hostile to us because of our intervention in the internal struggle of Indochina. The consequences of its reckless action could have, and still may, bring China into the Vietnamese war. Our nuclear retaliation against China could lead to nuclear retaliation by the Soviet Union against us.



The war in Indochina is an internal affair and we are frustrating the self-determination of these people. The Geneva Conference of 1954 arbitrarily divided Indochina into North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, in order to prevent it being unified under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, who would give Indochina a Communist orientation.

America is hopelessly out of step with the world. We are trying to achieve the impossible and are supporting discredited and repudiated regimes. We subscribe to the fiction that there is a Nationalist China, headed by Chiang Kai-shek. We back General Khanh who usurped political power and whose authority is not only challenged by North Vietnam, but by South Vietnamese rebels, the Vietcong, as well.

At this writing, it is probable that North Vietnam will back down before the vastly superior military establishment of the United States, but does this mean that "might makes right?" Can we be sure that the day is not approaching when those whom we belittle today, will not be in a position to stand up to us militarily tomorrow?

It is my conviction that the United States should recognize Communist China and its claim to Taiwan and the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. I also believe we should extricate ourselves from southeast Asia and let the peoples there determine their own destinies. I don't believe we can fight communism per se, because it will mean an eventual confrontation with the Communist nations, with dire consequences for all.

I believe we must learn to live with the Communist nations. We don't like their way of life and they don't like ours; but we are being just as dogmatic as they are in insisting that the nations of the world conform to what we believe is the right way of life.

Sincerely yours,

STANLEY SINGER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Congratulations on your forthright and intelligent position regarding our activities in southeast Asia. Are you the only intelligent and courageous man in Washington?

It is obvious that at least 80 percent of the Asians do not want the feudal American puppets we want to impose on them. Is there a way of letting the American people know your position? There has been too little publicity.

With the greatest respect and admiration.  
Cordially,

LEO FISHER,  
Sculptor.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thanks for voting against the recent Vietnam resolution. The President should not be given any blanket permission to take the United States into an Asiatic war if he considers it desirable.

Please mail me a copy of the resolution, and also a copy of your lengthy address in the Senate against it.

What can we do to get the United Nations to maintain order in difficult areas like Cyprus, Congo, and Vietnam instead of risking big power confrontations and wars?

Best wishes,

LINDLEY J. BURTON,  
Associate Professor of Mathematics,  
LAKE FOREST, ILL.

MONTEREY PARK, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I have just read your statement on the Vietnamese situation on August 5.

I agree with your position wholeheartedly. My family asked me to tell you that we admire your courage in this unpopular position and the clear-sighted thinking it represents.

My teenage daughter is going to save this clipping to use in school.

Again, we will support your efforts to remove our beloved country from this dirty war.

Sincerely,

Mrs. BARBARA RICHARDSON.

COLLEGE PARK, MD.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are proud of your sanity, clear-sightedness, and courage in your appeal for understanding and peace. We saw and heard your brief comment on TV regarding our planes attacking points in North Vietnam. Your fight is in the great and good and best American tradition.

May you not grow too weary in this seemingly lone battle, realizing that millions of Americans agree with you because we want peace also.

Sincerely,

D. L. WEST.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: In the Vietnam struggle I am united behind you.

You are a courageous man, wonderful.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. MARY BULAT.

SOUTH HAMILTON, MASS.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: After reading your article in the Progressive magazine for August and now your courage in telling the truth when all the newspapers are hollering war. I couldn't sleep tonight without first writing to you and thanking you.

Your good sense and bravery in expressing it is like a cool spring in a desert of stupidity.

Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER.

DEAR MR. MORSE: My husband and I are writing this note to tell you we are so happy to know there is one man in our Government who speaks commonsense and truth.

We refer to your stand on Vietnam. We also think the United States is guilty of aggression as is North Vietnam. We do not think the President's proposal should be passed in view of this fact.

For what it is worth, you have our support.  
Sincerely,

JAMES and BARBARA KINBERGER.

UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am writing because I hope that there remains time to alter the course which we have been pursuing in Vietnam. This course, unless changed, will in all probability escalate the conflict from a brutal jungle war to a major conflict.

Mr. President, you will gain neither the short-term victory of reelection nor the long-term favor of history by involving this Nation in a continued war in Vietnam. You can win either, and then both, only by adding to your vigorous pursuit of civil rights an effective fight upon domestic poverty, and acting to obtain a negotiated settlement, so wisely counseled by President de Gaulle.

It was not a mark of strength, but of weakness to deny our counsel of law by shooting first and going to the U.N. later.

Surely the United States need not be so fearful. It is imperative that we listen to our own prophets before we reap the disaster they clearly see. As Senator MORSE said (New York Times, Thursday, Aug. 6, 1964):

"\* \* \* the role of the United States in South Vietnam" over the last 10 years "has been that of a provocateur, every bit as much as North Vietnam has been a provocateur. "The American effort to impose by force of arms a government of our own choosing upon a segment of the old colony of Indochina has caught up with us. Our violations of the Geneva accord have caught up with us. Our violations of the United Nations Charter have caught up with us."

There has been mounting evidence for months, he said, that the Pentagon and State Department "were preparing to escalate the war into North Vietnam." He charged that before the attacks on the U.S. destroyers. "South Vietnamese naval vessels bombarded two North Vietnamese islands within 3 to 5 or 6 miles of the main coast of North Vietnam."

Mr. President, the war must be ended now.

Respectfully yours,

E. S. CAMPBELL.

(Copy to Senator WAYNE MORSE.)

RED BANK, N.J.,  
August 9, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The whole world continues to owe you a debt of gratitude for your continuing fight against America's "dirty war" in Vietnam.

I was in Times Square last Thursday taking part in an all-day vigil against the war and also was present at the rally in Washington Square where your message to us was read.

I am proud that you voted against the recent resolution in the Senate. In high school I learned about "checks and balances." Now the legislature has given over its authority to declare war (or not to declare war) to an exceedingly belligerent Executive.

Very truly yours,

ALLEN STRASBURGER.

BRONX, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Hats off again to you and Senator GRUENING for voting against the resolution to give the President the power to declare war, an unjust and infamous one at that, in southeast Asia. Despite the abuse showered on you now, time will prove that you and Senator GRUENING are the true patriots in defending peace and the Constitution.

Sincerely,

CATHERINE and SIDNEY HARTMAN.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your stand on the southeast Asia situation. It takes rare courage for a public official to voice an unpopular opinion in an emotional situation.

Sincerely,

It is heartening to realize that these are individuals who will risk their positions for a principle.

LEIGH E. ROSENBLUM, M.D.

CASTRO VALLEY, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I express my sincere gratitude and heartfelt thanks for speaking out today on the question of Vietnam.

The voices of sanity are all too few today, but every one gives us a measure of hope.



I do not believe U.S. soldiers or military weapons should be in Vietnam in the first place. And certainly we should not be actively taking part in a war that the Vietnam people themselves seem not to want.

Please continue to speak out against the warlike activities of our government. We must have peace.

Sincerely,

Mrs. PAUL HUDGINS.

LIBERAL, KANS.

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your appeal over TV last night was the only one in which the moral issue of war in the Far East was even mentioned. It is a sad affair, indeed.

I believe most Americans feel that this is a political war, that President Johnson, though he personally hates to be involved in such a maneuver, is using this occasion, just as it has been built up and planned ahead, to prevent the Goldwater forces from making the accusation of the Democrats being "soft on communism."

The great danger is the smug and complacent attitude shown by the Secretary of Defense and the others in relation to the escalating of the war. We have little choice in that matter now. China, whose voice is denied her through the halls of the U.N. will make that decision. If China elects to call our bluff, send a million troops into North and South Vietnam, then who's fault is it?

Let us hope that the Chinese understand our political system better than most of our people do, and permit us to play upon their nerves until late fall without raising their blood pressure to the boiling point.

I am amazed that though we have our Armed Forces strung all over the world, others are always "the aggressor."

Cordially,

HARRY E. CHRISMAN.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

June 1964.

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
President, the United States,  
White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON: It is no easy task to offer suggestions to our Nation's leader, so I hope that my inclusion of several issues in this my first communication will be excused. Having devoted my career to the field of public school education, I hope that I am qualified to assign you a high mark for your efforts and accomplishments to date. From personal experience of three score and fifteen years, recently attained, I fully appreciate the great need of your campaign against poverty.

The adoption and implementation of an effective civil rights program will go far toward solving our social problems. In a downtown high school in Cincinnati, I have taught dozens of highly qualified colored pupils, including a few Chinese. These fine young people had slight prospects of using their potentialities in the service of society. Very clearly, American business and industry have serious blind spots.

The program of the Peace Corps has won us deserved acclaim and can well be enlarged. An increased interest in other languages and cultures will yield worldwide benefits. The reactivating of the NYA and the CCC, of which you and I know, would help the problem of unemployment and would make life more meaningful to large numbers of our junior citizens. I have been an admirer of Aubrey Williams throughout the years, though he was a disciple of "That Man" and of the good First Lady. That Man, with his vision of a better society, has been one of my modern heroes.

I find it impossible to comprehend the attitude of the Congress and of the public in its hasty willingness to allocate billions of dollars to add to the tremendous overkill stockpile of weaponry. Even though a student and admirer of science, I cannot justify

the expenditure of more billions in what we earthbound creatures call the "Conquest of Space." Though I recognize and deplore his fear of reelection if he follows his high principles, I have a high regard for Senator FULBRIGHT. His two recent speeches bear the earmarks of high statesmanship.

My list of issues would be incomplete did I not plead for your support of the King-Anderson bill—medicare. Dr. Reo M. Christenson shatters the AMA's objections to this humane and vital measure in the Progressive for June 1964. Under present provisions, my wife and I would be tragically affected by a prolonged hospital confinement.

I would yet like to comment on aid to education, on the proposed pay boost for all Members of the Congress, on your announced retention of our super Cop, who is blind to the radical right, but space and time forbid.

Yours truly,

FRANK E. FLOYD.

BEAUMONT, TEX.

August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Courage, the courage to do what a man should do despite personal consequences is a trait of character that glows from your Senate seat perennially.

Our country could use other men of your stature.

Why is it so difficult for most men to make decisions without prejudice?

I agree with you—that these acts of aggression by the North Vietnamese should have been taken before the United Nations. This would have added greatly to the prestige of that world body and also show the world that we are capable of practicing what we preach.

Incidentally, your arguments against the resolution of August 7, have even made a small dent in the hard heads of my "John Birch" friends and coworkers.

Please take heart, that you are not alone in this fight—history will prove your foresight.

Sincerely,

W. K. DICKERSON.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

ESTEEMED SIR: A word to let you know I and many others think you exactly right and extremely courageous on your opposition to war in Vietnam.

The Democratic leaders have no idea how angry the majority of citizens are over supporting such a dictatorship as Vietnam.

This could well cost Mr. Johnson and those out of touch with public opinion, advisers of his, the election.

GOLDWATER has won his first victory; carry on, as they don't realize the determination of the Chinese.

Very truly yours,

JOHN PROLL.

TWO LAWYERS DEBATE READING OF LORD'S PRAYER IN SCHOOLS—ONE IS MEMBER OF CHURCHES COUNCIL; OTHER, CIVIL LIBERTIES GROUP

PARAMUS.—"Our country was founded on a belief in God. The great majority of people believe in God. The will of the majority should not be ignored."

"A great harm can occur to religion when it is passed over lightly. Religion belongs in the home and the church. Don't use the public schools to spread your gospel."

These are the diverse opinions of two lawyers who last night at Central Unitarian Church debated the constitutionality of the reading of the Lord's Prayer and five verses of the Old Testament in the public schools.

The speakers were Hackensack Attorney Alfred W. Kiefer, a member of the general board of the New Jersey Council of Churches and former president of the Bergen County Council of Churches, and Newark Attorney Morton Stavis, a member of the board of

directors of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

#### CITES CHRISTIAN NATION

Kiefer, arguing that the present practice of reading the Lord's Prayer and the Old Testament should be continued, used as his main point the fact that this is basically a Christian country, and the religious background should not be ignored.

He noted that the national anthem, many mottos used on coins, and the U.S. Constitution all have references to God, and that prayers are said to open each session of Congress. He said a footnote in the opinion written by Justice Hugo Black in the Supreme Court's ruling on the New York State prayer is contradictory.

"I believe this is actually an apology," Kiefer said. "Government should not be neutral toward religion. We can't ignore the greatest teaching in history. An educator should bring the knowledge of religious belief to a child."

#### WORRIES ABOUT STATE

Stavis acknowledged that the State supreme court had upheld the constitutionality of the practice in 1950, but said much water has passed over the dam since then, most of it in the form of decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Noting that the first amendment of the Constitution forbids the establishment of religion by Congress, Stavis said the amendment could be interpreted to read that a State may not establish religion.

He said the prayer composed by the New York State Board of Regents was an element of the establishment of a religion, even if the prayer is nonsectarian and participation is purely voluntary.

Kiefer said changes in the composition of the Supreme Court could cause an upset of the prayer ruling in the future. Stavis noted that two cases are pending before the Supreme Court at present on the constitutionality of Bible reading in schools, and a decision may be handed down next year.

#### IGNORE READINGS

The Newark attorney said it is common for students to do their homework and completely ignore the reading of the Lord's Prayer and the Bible. He called this disrespectful to religion. "This is not the way to foster and nurture religion," Stavis said.

He said that the Lord's Prayer is basically a Christian prayer, and said its reading in school offends Jewish children. Although children are not required to participate and are allowed to leave the room when the prayer and the Bible are being read, Stavis said this could prove a traumatic experience for a young child.

Kiefer agreed that no child should have religion thrust upon him, but declared that it is not important whether a child pays attention during this period. He said the important thing is that government recognizes religion.

He added that if references to God were deleted from anthems, the Constitution, and coins, it would be a slight to the traditions on which this country was founded.

One woman in the audience claimed that no one can be harmed by hearing the word of God, and said taking God out of the classroom would be the beginning of the infiltration of communism.

Stavis rebutted that the halting of the practice would not be taking God out of the schools, but halting the infiltration of government into religion.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I want to commend you for voting against giving the President a free hand in using military power in the Vietnam trouble. Surely the majority of Americans want to see an end to our military assistance



and integrity you displayed in your stand on Vietnam.

Although you are alone among those in our Government who would put political expediency before the very life of humanity, you are not alone among the people of our country. Millions of Americans honor and respect you and will persevere beside you.

Gratefully,

JANE K. SKEAR.

EL SEGUNDO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I agree with you so often that I feel I should write again and tell you so. We had no business in Vietnam to start. We have a United Nations. We should be democratic enough to abide by its majority decisions.

Thank goodness we have had sense enough to keep out of Cyprus so far. If we cannot be democratic enough to abide by United Nations, then we should not blame Russia for her refusal to share in the cost of Congo—which was another of our stupidities in my opinion, against Soviet wishes.

The vision of a white knight on a white charger bouncing around all over the world, to meddle in the domestic affairs of evolving nations, may look pretty but surely it does not jibe with actualities of today's world.

On the whole I do respect Mr. Johnson, and when he adopts that soft "reasoning" tone I go along—mostly. But he is an astute politician and he has spiked one of the biggest guns of the Republicans before electioneering has even started by this "bold" stroke on North Vietnam bases.

Those who have lost some member of the family in this outer "war" probably have a lesser word than "bold" for it.

However, I look for a precarious campaign this year, and I still cannot be for GOLDWATER; too immature, in my view, as surely he wouldn't let himself be simply ignorant. You have a pretty brave colleague in Mr. FULBRIGHT, from news reports occasionally. I thank you for your courage.

Respectfully,

Mrs. PEARL M. CAMPBELL.

EVERETT, WASH.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: As I am deeply concerned about the worsening Vietnam crisis, I am writing to commend you on your stand in this matter. I urge you to continue to use your influence in helping our country find creative solutions to this serious threat to world peace. No unilateral solution can be effective in so complex a problem, particularly when we are so heavily involved in the guilt of the crisis.

As you have indicated in newspaper reports I have read recently, the economic and social problems which we have helped to create in that part of the world cannot be solved by purely military means. We must appeal to the U.N. and all countries who have any feeling of responsibility for world peace, whether they are members or not, to work on this urgent problem. The 14-nation Geneva Conference should be reconvened in an effort to settle the war. Peacekeeping forces should supervise the implementation of any peace plans which are developed.

Some decisions made by such a multilateral group may cost us some sense of prestige, but if we are willing to work for economic and social improvement in that area even so, we are likely to be remembered as the people who were humble enough to help solve the problem of world peace rather than

risk being remembered as the precipitators of the World War III holocaust to our eternal discredit.

I have written to Senators MAGNUSON and JACKSON and to Congressman WESTLAND about this matter urging that they support your recommendations. I truly hope they will.

Sincerely,

Mrs. FRANCES J. WESTER.

MADISON, WIS.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your vote against the resolution to support fully the administration's policy and actions in Vietnam has been the single bright spot these past few miserable days. I am very glad you voted as you did and I am grateful too for this necessitating more publicizing of your views than has occurred so far.

Whether the North Vietnamese torpedo boats were provoked into action by such a specific incident as you have mentioned or simply by the whole menacing position of both American Naval and Army units does not seem to me to matter a great deal. One has the feeling inevitably that the North Vietnamese attack was as ludicrous as a squirt gun aimed at an elephant and that there has been much of this sort of thing going on and tolerated. That it should be now made an issue of appears to the cynical observer a political move to answer the Republican charge of not enough action combined with a diversion from domestic affairs going badly in the way of Negro riots.

One can only hope that you will do all that is possible to open up real debate on our South Vietnamese war.

Sincerely,

JEAN WILEY.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: May I congratulate you on your courage to stand up for a sane policy for Vietnam?

I agree with you that the only way out of the southeast Asia impasse is through the United Nations, and that the United States will fail if she insists on imposing a military solution on a political and economic problem.

Sincerely,

EUGENIA V. NORRIKRY, Ph. D.  
Research Associate, Stanford University.

CARMEL, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Three cheers for you in your continuing struggle to get the truth about South Vietnam before the American people. The war we are engaged in there is a dirty war, a disgrace to our Nation, and instead of expanding it (as we've done in the past 2 days) we should be negotiating for peace and getting our soldiers out of the country.

A recent article by you in the Progressive covered the whole situation in an exceedingly capable manner except for the omission of one vital point: the 1956 elections that were slated to be held under international auspices, according to the 1954 Geneva accords, which would have unified the country. From all that I've been able to find out about this, the United States, through our then-funkey, Diem, blocked the holding of these elections because we had become convinced that a leftist regime under Ho Chi Minh would win. If this is true, shouldn't it be widely publicized? For it demolishes the

U.S. argument for being in South Vietnam, i.e., that the Vietcong is the side that has broken the Geneva accords, and that we only broke them after they did. And even now, if we're willing to face the possibility of a Vietcong victory at the polls, peace could perhaps be achieved by the announcement that such elections would soon be held.

Or doesn't our Government really believe in democracy? It's hard to keep from getting pretty cynical on this point.

Anyway, keep up the good work. You're a rare type of politician—one with integrity and courage.

Sincerely,

BOBBIE HARMS.

BIRMINGHAM, MICH.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have just finished reading your article in the August Progressive. One hopes with desperation that men like you and Senators MANSFIELD and FULBRIGHT keep your critical eyes on southeast Asia—particularly now.

Yours sincerely,

T. C. CRANE.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY,  
Ithaca, N.Y., August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept my sincere congratulations and my strongest support for your vote against the southeast Asia resolution.

I am not at all sure that the interests of our country are best served by our being involved in Vietnam. Your voice, raising some serious and embarrassing questions, has been one of the few expressions of sanity that seems to remain on Capitol Hill. What is it that makes so many of our lawmakers so bellicose? I often wonder if they are trying to prove something about themselves—or to themselves.

Keep on saying "No." You represent more than your Oregon constituents here.

Sincerely yours,

ANDREW HACKER,  
Associate Professor.

SYRACUSE, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your opposition to the resolution before the combined Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees of the Senate is to be commended.

Military action in a situation that would appear to be somewhat ambiguous must be seriously considered, and not hastily seconded.

At a time when so many are rushing into an area of unknown consequence, it takes courage to remain steadfast. May you continue to so serve the American public.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. ROGER D. COHEN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: May I commend you on your honest and courageous stand in voting against the President's aggressive actions in the Gulf of Tonkin.

We are interfering in a civil war, expending billions of dollars and hundreds of our menfolk supporting a corrupt government, earning the hatred of honest people every-



where, and, because we are losing ground, tempting provocations that may escalate this into worldwide and, possibly, atomic war.

Where is the vaunted "American courage," "honesty," "love of liberty," and "intelligence"—that out of 90 Senate and 416 House votes, only 2 Senators have these qualities of decency to recognize and stand up against a Presidential "carte blanche" in a nefarious undertaking?

Would that there were many more of you in the Senate. How can we get them there?

Respectfully yours,

LEWIS J. SKLAR.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Chambers,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: I want to urge you to keep on fighting. Your voice rings out like a clarion and gives me hope.

Sincerely,

BELLA GOODSTEIN.

ABERDEEN, WASH.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We want you to know that we appreciate the stand you are taking against U.S. involvement in Vietnam—North or South.

We regret that since we are Washington State residents the only support we can give you is moral. If we could have the privilege of voting for you we would certainly do so. It would be a real exercise of voting privilege to vote for a man of your caliber. The residents of Oregon are indeed fortunate.

Thank you again.

Yours truly,

Mr. and Mrs. PENT JARVELA.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank goodness you are still a "maverick" Senator or else we would have no voice in Congress that dared criticize our stupid blundering in southeast Asia.

Keep up the good work—challenging foreign aid "mis-spensitures" and mixed up militarism in Vietnam.

Sincerely,

JOYCE S. GILES.

RICHMOND, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I congratulate you on your courageous statements on our policies in southeast Asia.

I completely agree with you that we should solve this question through the United Nations rather than by involving ourselves in a military action. The United States was wrong to allow itself to be goaded into an attack on North Vietnam, and I greatly admire you for standing up alone to say so.

Sincerely,

PATRICIA H. DUNCAN.

TACOMA, WASH.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is difficult to put into words our admiration for your courage in this dreadful crisis. Tonight we saw you interviewed on television and heard you say you would not vote for the resolution to support President Johnson, that you would stand alone if need be. If only our President would take such a stand.

We, my husband and I, have lived long enough to experience two World Wars, the Korean war and now this war, to date unde-

clared, illegal, unilateral but nonetheless a ruthless cruel war which now may spread into all out nuclear war.

The two World Wars to "end war" and to "save democracy" were self-defeating and the atomic age was ushered in changing the entire character of war. War, as such, is no longer a solution to world problems as you well know.

Enclosed is copy of General Hester's article "Is the United States Fighting the Vietnamese People."

I am the secretary of the Peace Committee of Hillside Community Church and for 6 years have corresponded with General Hester. We have placed his book "On The Brink" in many libraries. We distribute his articles in quantity.

He has at various times paid high compliment to you particularly also Senator GRUENING. Do hope he will stand with you.

You said today "This is a predated declaration of war." May I quote a paragraph from his recent letter:

"As I view it we have to mobilize to do one thing the rest of the year and that is to prevent the expansion of war in Asia and an invasion of Cuba. Both are building up fast and we will be lucky indeed if we can hold the line."

In another paragraph he wrote, "So far U.S. foreign aid has been used to set nations fighting nations and to maintain the status quo."

We have sent telegrams to President Johnson protesting this present action, urging as you and General Hester have done, an international conference.

President Johnson's present position leaves little choice between him and Senator GOLDWATER on foreign policy.

Thank you again.

Mrs. MAUDE RICHARD.

NEWTON, MASS.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: For some time, my husband and I have felt that the United States is involved in a very unjust and morally undefensible war in South Vietnam. We fail to see a distinction between a Communist-enforced dictatorship and an American-enforced dictatorship, as both the Dlem and the subsequent military regimes are. Support of this government is especially open to criticism since it appears that the populace of South Vietnam does not support this government, and apparently tends to sympathize with the revolutionary forces. Furthermore we object, on moral grounds, to the techniques used by the military forces against the peasants, such as the ghetto compounds, the burning of villages and ricefields, and especially the physical brutality.

We support completely your recent statements about American foreign policy. We were impressed with your appearance on "Meet the Press," and today with your objections in the Senate to the resolution. We admire very much your moral courage and your rational objectivity, so decidedly lacking in most political figures today. We hope that you will continue to be strong in your position, and that you will be able to influence others to consider the moral issues involved, rather than just empty American prestige.

Sincerely,

ANITA SIMPSON  
Mrs. Charles Simpson.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: You have our heartfelt understanding for your positive stand on the South

Vietnam situation. It takes stamina and knowledge of this acute problem, and you have shown courage almost alone, and we want you to feel we, as Democrats, are behind you.

Continue the good work.

Cordially,

Mrs. ROSE Y. NICHOLAS.

CAZENOVIA, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Thank you for your courage in speaking out in an effort to stop the current war hysteria in America.

I wish I could vote for you.

Yours truly,

ELIZABETH ZO ALLEN.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator MORSE,

This is to encourage you to hold your position on the Southeast Asia situation.

There is a better way to gain respect as a nation than killing.

I am a teacher, 60, of mathematics in high school.

Sincerely,

Mr. CLAIRE W. PALMER.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

I thank you from the bottom of my heart because you are a true representative of the common people of the United States, and I might add for all the common people throughout the world.

It appears you stand alone as Christ did during his time.

We thank you for your courageous stand and for trying to save mankind from total annihilation.

Sincerely yours,

KATIE KLICINOVICH.

SYRACUSE, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to congratulate you on your extremely brave stand over the present policies of the U.S. Government. It seems that in times of grave crisis there is always a call for unity in the country and this eliminates intelligent and democratic discussion on the subject and anyone who stands out against this is considered unpatriotic. Therefore any man, especially in an elected position, who takes such a stand is to be greatly admired and considered very courageous.

I would also like to thank you for your attempt to expose the hideous doubletalk which has accompanied the recent developments in southeast Asia.

I can only say that I believe the chances for world peace would be greatly increased if men of your thinking were in power in this country.

Sincerely,

VALERIE ASHWORTH.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is just a brief note to say that we agree with everything that you have said about the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and admire tremendously your courage in speaking the way that you have done.

Whether you know it or not, we believe that you speak for many American people who, unfortunately, have no voice outside of your own.

Sincerely,

IRENE COSMOS.  
JILL JEFFERY.



LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a line of congratulations on your courageous stand against our involvement in foreign wars. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

LINCOLN HAYNES.

CLINTONVILLE, WIS.,  
August 7, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: I wish to express my appreciation for your stand in re the attack on North Vietnam. This should have been taken to the United Nations in accordance with its charter. I believe the PT boats were probably from South Vietnam. They are very anxious to get us into a war with their neighbor to the north.

Next, I suppose, there will be a phony attack in Cuban waters to justify an attack on their harbors.

The CIA could have staged this as they did the attack preceding the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

Yours,

WM. L. STANTON.

SAN PEDRO, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: May I personally thank you and congratulate you on the stand you have taken on the U.S. position in Vietnam. I am in complete agreement with you, that we are both the aggressors and agitators in this incident.

I give you my full support and encourage you to take this stand to whatever heights are necessary.

There are few men in political office today who are willing to sacrifice political gain for their own convictions. I believe that you have truly passed the test of a qualified Senator, which I am afraid many of your colleagues would fail.

Again I urge this stand, and offer myself in any way to keep this a country and world in peace.

My deepest admiration,

MISS HELEN MEYERS,  
College Student.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My congratulations to you on your stand on the resolution which, I think, you said "predated a declaration of war."

I am extremely worried about our whole policy in Vietnam and a newspaper picture of a baby terribly burned by one of our fire bombs has haunted me.

A world at peace with more reliance on the United Nations seems farther away and the stupidity of man on the increase. I don't like to be ashamed of my country but how can we send the Peace Corps around the world on one hand and push everyone closer to nuclear destruction on the other.

I wish that other Senators than you and Senator ERNEST GRUENING would speak up in times of crisis.

Sincerely,

EILEEN B. WARING.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The Palomar Peace Group meeting in full session feel especially

indebted to you. You seem to be the strongest voice for peace in the U.S. Government.

You have taken the winning side, as only full discussion of issues and agreement on peace and neutrality could be a sensible role today. Any other leads to nuclear war and destruction.

The Johnson administration has taken a turn toward carrying out the policies of GOLDWATER.

In one sense we felt after the Republican convention, we now had a straight course for end poverty, civil rights, and peace. We are now all confused and continuation of this policy could easily end in the election of BARRY GOLDWATER.

Or—the nuclear destruction of the world.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM INGHAM,  
Chairman, Palomar Peace Group.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

HON. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: A few years ago I had the pleasure of having dinner with you and Mrs. Morse and I was impressed and enlightened by your independence and knowledge.

Your recent vote against President Johnson's bill is a courageous act. I hope that you are better informed on our problems than I or millions of other Americans are.

The rest of our legislators' speedy and ready consent marks them, in my book, as a bunch of "yo-yos."

Congratulations and may you enjoy a good, happy and long life. We need you.

Sincerely,

HARRY RICH.

MIAMI, FLA.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I were greatly pleased by your comments on the Vietnamese crisis. I had thought that all dissenting voices were buried under the heap of elegies on individualism. May Oregon continue to return you to the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

DOUGLAS M. MOON.

BERKELEY, CALIF.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I commend your vote on the Vietnam resolution as a courageous and independent action.

I think it is good to have a few doves when it is much easier to be a hawk. In fact, it alarms me, as it did in the Cuban crisis, that to be anything but a hawk is tantamount to treason.

If we don't have debate on such monumental questions, we lose a great asset of democracy—the check of power of the establishment. The vote on Wilson's war resolution was not unanimous. Perhaps, at that time, if there had been more debate or consultation, alternative courses might have been reached which would have been less costly.

Military commitment can be a dangerous procedure because it does not always permit an honorable disengagement. Cuba proved otherwise, fortunately, but possibly only because the motives on both sides were evident and communication was easy and available. I am not sure whether the Prisedent's action is the best course for the United States or will produce any lasting benefits. However, I don't believe that honest debate should be ruled out or that individuals should fear to raise questions lest their patriotism or paper courage be questioned. I have also felt for a long time that a Senator

should not be merely a relay switch for the wishes of his voters on important questions. On matters that require background, wisdom and moral thinking to decide, I think a Senator and the Senate have a higher obligation than to party loyalty or the next election.

Yours truly,

B. F. KARNOW.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator, Office of the Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Am writing to express my support for, and my admiration and respect for, your integrity and moral courage as expressed by you concerning the Vietnam situation. The action taken by the administration is not the way of the Founding Fathers.

Respectfully,

Mrs. R. L. MCGARRETT.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

I, too, with many thinking people, have long considered the wisdom of our policy in Vietnam and have just written the President, again, urging caution and a postponement of further military action till the situation can be reviewed before the Security Council with both sides participating.

I have admired your stand in the Senate which must have taken conviction and courage and I want you to know you have the full support of many of us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MARION M. MALLERY.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

FRANKFORT, KY.,  
August 7, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In the flurry of activity that surrounds a U.S. Senator, it must be especially trying to defend a position as unpopular as is your position on Vietnam. Now, as I write this, you are speaking to an almost empty Senate Chamber—speaking about what is probably the most important topic in the world today. You might very well be committing political suicide, because this time your opposition to U.S. policy in southeast Asia is getting wide publicity.

Of course, I know nothing about what kind of person you are. I do know that you are not a coward, and have taken grave political risks in the past. But I do know that when caught up in the middle of a struggle, it is often hard to keep an eye on oneself, and to remember what it is all about. It is often especially difficult to find meaning to a struggle which at one and the same time must be fought, and will be lost.

This letter, then, is to remind you of that which only someone else can tell you. You are a good man. If life can ever have any meaning, it will be given such by men like yourself. I can't wish you great happiness, because I know that men such as you can never be fully happy in an evil world. But I do wish for you the satisfaction that comes from fighting for what is right. I wish for you part of the beauty that you yourself are adding to the world.

With profound respect.

LAWRENCE CAROLINE.

MONTROSE, PA.,  
August 8, 1964.

Thank you, Senator, for your dissenting vote yesterday on that "vote of confidence" for the President's military action in North Vietnam.

"The evil that men do lives after them" may well be said of our involvement in southeast Asia.



How did Asia ever survive for 7,000 years without the United States? One hell of a mess!

FRED K. BREWSTER.

PASADENA, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to encourage you in your stand against our undeclared war in Vietnam.

Please continue to press for a solution through the U.N.

Respectfully,

REGA ENGELOBERG.

SEATTLE, WASH.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: It was with joyful appreciation that I read in the morning Post-Intelligencer your statements regarding U.S. intervention in Asia. I wish to congratulate you for the stand you have taken.

I am writing to the two Senators from Washington.

Sincerely yours,

HECTOR J. DURACKER.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am filled with pride that we have one Senator who has the intelligence to understand the international implications of our insane foreign policy and has the courage to say that he does not agree with it. What's driving these people to build up another Korea? If the plan is to provoke the Chinese so they'll enter on the side of the North Vietnamese and give us an excuse to bomb the mainland to please Chiang Kai-shek, we're underestimating the power of the Communist world. No matter what the rift over ideology Russia won't stand by and do nothing. But I don't have to tell you these things. You are well aware of the world situation.

Thank you very much for your dedication to the real interests of the people of this country. Judging by the vast number of supporters you have in this community you'd be our first choice for President. Shall we draft you?

Very truly yours,

ANNE R. COLFORD.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: This is to express my admiration to you for your courageous stand against our involvement in an Asian war. Thank God there is at least one voice in the Senate, that speaks out for peace and sanity.

Respectfully,

KURT H. GRUEN.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: For years I've heard the Republicans criticize our party because, quote, "It's always the Democrats who get us into war." Again this morning I heard this refrain from a fellow worker on the subject of the North Vietnam bombings.

I just want you to know that a fellow Democrat is proud of you for your courage in questioning this action of our country and I wholeheartedly agree with you.

May God bless you.

PHYLLIS A. CAINE.

BERKELEY, CALIF.  
Copies to President Johnson, Senator H. Humphrey.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I commend you for your courageous stand on the limited war resolution. It is a rare pleasure to see a man of such integrity and conviction, and would that there were more like you in the Senate. We lived in Oregon for 3 years, while students at the University of Oregon (both my husband and I hold Ph. D's in sociology from the University of Oregon.) I only wish we could still vote for you.

On many, many previous occasions I have admired your stands and the articulate way in which you have expressed your viewpoint—with which I am almost always in accord. My husband joins me in congratulating you on your rare courage.

Sincerely,

GAIL J. PUTNEY, Ph. D.

MUNCIE, IND.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We want you to know that we are in strong support of your position that the United States should cease its involvement in Vietnam and should submit the issues to negotiation. The United States should faithfully abide by the results of such negotiations.

We sent the following telegram to President Lyndon Johnson:

"Urge avoid war escalation in Vietnam. Negotiate permanent settlement through United Nations."

Sincerely,

ROBERT J. and MARTHA GWYN.

Copies to Senators BIRCH BAYH, VANCE HARTKE, Congressman RALPH HARVEY.

EAST AMHERST, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I am writing to express my approval and appreciation for your position on the crisis in southeast Asia. Your remarks have shown that the only intelligent solution to this complex problem is through sincere attempts at negotiation.

Sincerely,

JO ANNE BRADLEY.

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank God for you. I just finished your article in the Progressive and know that we can count on you to soberly appraise our drive to war in southeast Asia. This is sheer madness and can lead only to the extermination of the whole human race.

Now we're playing "chicken" and seem disappointed that China is not responding to our bullying of North Vietnam.

We know you are almost alone in Congress. Please keep on.

Thank you again, most fervently.

Sincerely yours,

DOROTHY JACOBSON.

AGENCY, IOWA,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator for Oregon,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Do you realize, sir, that you and Senator GRUENING of Alaska, are the only Members of Congress willing to go on record as agreeing with the fundamental doctrines of all of the great religions in the world on human rights and human relations? My congratulations, and my fervent hope you will remain steadfast in your stand on our foreign policy, must be conveyed to you. I am now nearly 90 years old and ever since

I can remember I have thought much as you do about such things.

Yours truly,

MADISON WARDER.

BOZEMAN, MONT.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I appreciate your stand on the current Vietnam crisis. As a history teacher I watch current events with interest.

Thank you for sending me "Senator MORSE Speaking."

Sincerely,

CLYDE W. SMITH.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept this brief note in wholehearted support of your position in connection with American activity in Vietnam. I pray the Lord will strengthen your voice and the voices of others who appeal for sanity in a situation quickly escalating toward deeper involvement and total war.

Sincerely,

RICHARD J. NEUHAUS.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We commend you on your courageous stand on our "immoral" war in Vietnam.

Yours is the only sane, realistic, and humane position on this matter.

We applaud your courage in being able to stand alone amid a "sea of fools."

Sincerely,

MR. and MRS. S. ROMAINE.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It was heartening to hear two sane voices raised in the Senate when the vote on Vietnam was taken.

Not all Americans favor the U.S. aggressive "big stick" policy in southeast Asia and many of us are unwilling to give President Johnson free rein in pursuing that policy.

We are grateful to you and Senator GRUENING for representing us.

Sincerely,

GLENN and ANNE THURESON.

MUSKOGON, MICH.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to thank you for your leadership and straight thinking regarding the Vietnam situation. History will prove you are right. I fear for our country and for our sons who are being killed for nothing. (We have a son in the Navy.)

You are a profile in courage and one of the few legislators I could call "honorable." Congratulations!

I am a teacher and wish I could do something to help constructively. Our letters to Congressmen seem to have little effect.

Sincerely,

MRS. MILDRED E. WALL.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I wish to congratulate you for your courageous and forthright position you have taken on the issue of U.S. naval aircraft bombing North Vietnam bases. Although you are apparently outnumbered by those that support this action, remember there are millions of Americans



who support your courageous and correct stand.

I agree 100 percent with you that our policy over the last 10 years in southeast Asia is terribly wrong and can only lead to disastrous results. Open intervention in South Vietnam, which we have been following for years in itself aggressive action which can only be countered with similar action by the Government of North Vietnam and China.

Obviously the Government in South Vietnam is not a popular regime with the people of this country and is being kept in power by U.S. military might. I further agree that the problem in southeast Asia is a political one and cannot be solved by military action. Our sons who are dying in Vietnam are obviously being sacrificed for a lost cause.

Please keep up your fight for a correct policy in southeast Asia, and be of mind that there are millions of Americans who are behind you in this fight. Remember that although your position is a minority position at this time—it is the correct position—and eventually must be the majority position if we are to have peace in southeast Asia. The issues in southeast Asia must be settled over the conference table.

I am sending carbon copies of this letter to both of my Senators from California.

Sincerely,

LEONARD DAHLSTEN.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express my admiration for the stand you have taken on the policy of the U.S. Government in Asia, and especially in Vietnam. It takes a lot of courage to raise the only dissenting voice in the Senate, particularly when the whole country has been excited to the point of hysteria over the Tonkin Gulf exchange.

Having just recently read your article, "Humpty Dumpty in Vietnam", in the Progressive, I was aware of your thorough knowledge of the 10-year history of our participation in this area. I also have a copy of Senator GRUENING's speech of March 10, 1964, on "The United States Should Get Out of Vietnam" and have used this material when writing to my Congressmen and Senators about the cruelty and futility of this war. The response I have received has not been impressive as you can observe from the letter from Senator KUCHEL, copy of which is enclosed. The President naturally turns such letters over to the State Department which forwards the writer a fat pamphlet too voluminous to wade through.

The War Registers League issued a "Memo on Vietnam" recently, prepared by David McReynolds and A. J. Muste, which seems to me very comprehensive. I am ordering some copies of this memo to distribute to people in this area. As I feel you will be interested in this "Memo", I am enclosing a copy and also a clipping from a smalltown newspaper, the Valley News, to show you that we do have one thoughtful editor in this area which is otherwise covered by the San Diego Union and Evening Tribune, both owned by the ultraconservative Copley Press.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. F. W. McCONNELL.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your courageous and positive stand regarding the shocking position our Government has taken in Vietnam.

I feel our being there was all wrong in the first place. We should work through the

United Nations at all times. It seems hypocritical to me to keep saying we are fighting to preserve peace and freedom.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MARY HANCOCK.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator THOMAS KUCHEL,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I beg of you to oppose extending the war in Vietnam. Brinkmanship is a dangerous game, and might start a conflagration which will end in total destruction of the world.

We suggest that all misunderstandings should be threshed out at a conference table.

Yours respectfully,

Mrs. SARAH YURAVICH.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please support Senator WAYNE MORSE in opposing extension of the war in Vietnam, which may eventually start a nuclear war and the total destruction of the world.

There must be other ways to settle differences, and a conference table is a good way.

Respectfully,

Mrs. SARAH YURAVICH.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT,  
Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please continue to oppose extending the war in Vietnam, as you have done in the past. Brinkmanship is a dangerous gamble, which might light the fuse that will start such a conflagration that will destroy the world.

Don't you think that things can be settled at a conference table in preference to war?

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. SARAH YURAVICH.

AUGUST 9, 1964.

Mr. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I congratulate you on your courage to face up to President Johnson's barbaric act against the people of North Vietnam. To me his act is in the same category of a 6 foot 2 inch, 250-pound man slugging a 6-year-old boy, or raping an 8-year-old girl. Why, oh why, do we have to pick on little nations such as South Vietnam; North Vietnam, Cambodia; Laos; Cuba; Guatemala, British Guiana—we wouldn't dare do it to the U.S.S.R.

I wrote Senator WILLIAMS denouncing him for his Casper Milquetoast attitude—for bending his knees to Johnson's ignominious act. I'd like to receive your speech apropos this base act of Johnson's.

Sincerely yours,

HUBERT N. SMITH.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to tell you I am in complete agreement with you on Vietnam and southeast Asia. Why, oh why, can we not see that we must settle disputes around a conference table in this day of the atom bomb.

It is a lonely, lonely vigil for you but keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

BETTY KELLOGG.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

Hon. SENATOR MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for your courageous stand regarding the Vietnamese crisis.

Wish you were president.

Sincerely,

K. A. ELIASSEN.

PROVIDENCE, R.I.,  
August 7, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is a brief note to let you know that I wholeheartedly support your bold and farsighted thought on the South Vietnam crisis. In 1964, we cannot have American solutions to all problems, and you are one of the few people in Washington to recognize this.

As a member of the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, I have witnessed the insidious and immoral indoctrination that our troops are subjected to; that is to say, a reckless "my-country-right-or-wrong" policy is promulgated. For myself, I will not become a part of this inexorable march toward mass annihilation.

Again I applaud your standing. Rest assured, that there are others who support your statement; indeed, as you say, we must beat our big nuclear swords into plowshares.

Very truly yours,

STEPHEN J. FORTUNATO, JR.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I like to consider myself a thinking individual, one who takes time to make up his mind when important matters present themselves. It appeared for the moment that I had lost complete touch with the human race when this trouble in Vietnam arose this week. By chance I happened to see you on TV and hear your statement in regard to the situation there. I can assure that I am on your side in this matter and don't I wish more felt the same way.

I have not always agreed with your stand on various issues, but I have certainly admired your honesty and courage through the years you have served in the Senate. Without reservation, as a history teacher, I can confidently say that your name is already recorded in the pages of this Nation's history as one of her most noble servants. Please continue your good work.

Sincerely,

RICHARD L. PETTERSON.

TOPEKA, KANS.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 8, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to express my approval and admiration for your stand on Vietnam. Your voice is practically alone and therefore you deserve credit for having the courage of your convictions. Let me assure you I share the above with you, and hope that the present situation will be settled not by guns, but through negotiations.

Sincerely yours,

SAMUEL L. TALMY.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon,  
Senator ERNEST GRUENING of Alaska,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATORS WAYNE MORSE AND ERNEST GRUENING: We want to thank you both for your honorable and courageous defense of peace and humanity, in respect to the Vietnam crisis.

With your powerful voices in Washington, our democracy and our international moral-



ity cannot die out, but will, we hope, grow stronger.

We enclose a copy of our letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson on the North Vietnam matter, in which we affirm our support of your position.

With admiration and respect,  
Dr. OAKLEY C. JOHNSON,  
Mrs. MARY LEA J. JOHNSON.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
President of the United States,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We still protest, after hearing your statement to the people, against your policy toward North Vietnam, and toward Vietnam and against the unreasonable assault on that little nation.

We appreciate your declaration that you wish "no wider war," but that is not enough. It does not explain away the sudden horror of the brutal attack, without inquiry, without negotiation, without reporting first to the United Nations.

You know these things perfectly well, Mr. President. Why do you persist in giving our country an image as being among the still uncivilized imperialist nations which disregard international courtesy and international law?

We still urge a 14-nation conference, as asked by De Gaulle, with solution of all problems by negotiation, and withdrawal of American troops and ships.

We urge that you include Senators WAYNE MORSE and ERNEST GRUENING in every important conference on southeast Asia, because they speak for the majority of the people of the United States. Let their viewpoint, not Senator GOLDWATER'S, be reflected in your foreign policy.

Respectfully yours,

Dr. OAKLEY C. JOHNSON,  
Mrs. MARY LEA J. JOHNSON.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE:

With reference to current Tonkin Gulf affair and Fred Cook's book "The Warfare State," Library of Congress card 62-19422—these clips show forces behind GOLDWATER and mortal crisis facing one beloved country in November.

We have put lethal hardware in hands of Greeks and Turks, Laotians, Vietnamese and many others. All that it took to initiate hostilities 50 years ago was one pistol bullet.

Now with GOLDWATER on a white horse leading the Birchites to "victory," one can only hope there will be a few more sane, mature and courageous Senators to stem the tides of hate that are destroying our beloved Nation.

Why did Aviation Industries Association, using Hill and Knowlton of Madison Avenue, initiate a propaganda campaign of "Hate Russia" in 1946? They have unleashed the forces of hell over the expanse of our country. Can we control it before it is too late?

Sincerely,

G. B. GELLEY,  
Captain, USCG (Retired).

Associated Press wire from Washington (dated May 18, 1960), which stated: Senator BARRY GOLDWATER (Republican of Arizona), today urged full speed in development of the B-70 bomber, asserting the United States could use it to launch a war. It is interesting to note that Senator GOLDWATER has recently written a book entitled "The Conservative Conscience." If the foregoing report is an indicative reflection of the conservative conscience, I am inclined to doubt whether it has developed to any great extent since the days of Genghis Khan. And again where is the still small voice?

But no matter how close war is to becoming a sudden and violent reality, we must not lose faith in man's ability to reach a noble destiny. The goal cannot be reached by keeping in the middle of a smooth and unobstructed highway. The course is set on a tortuous and rugged alpine slope, and so far, man has made some brilliant strides in his ascent. Will he abandon his lofty position and go down into "the valley of the shadow of death," or will he push on up toward the unscalped summit? The German philosopher Lotze once remarked that "The deeper our insight into human destiny becomes, the more sacred does every individual human being seem to us." May our conscience grow in the conviction that man's reverence for life will prevail.

I believe that the mature conscience must be based on a deep reverence for life, and that its crowning characteristics should consist of understanding and the courage to translate it into action. Conscience is not enough, for it has spurred bloody atrocities, as well as noble deeds. Understanding is not enough, for it often leaves men fearful and irresolute, as well as courageous and determined. Action is not enough, for it is the habit of both beast and benefactor. Conscience, understanding and action must be welded together, if we are to tread the path of wisdom.

#### CHRISTIAN MORALITY AND NUCLEAR WAR

(By Thomas Merton)

(NOTE.—This article, which deals with the individual Christian's moral responsibility in the face of the threat of modern nuclear warfare, was written several months prior to the publication of Pope John's recent encyclical *Paocem in Terris*. In view of the Holy Father's powerful statement Father Merton's observations acquire a unique timeliness and importance.)

A death struggle can also be a struggle for life, a new birth. Perhaps the present crisis is the birth agony of a new world. Let us hope that it is. No one can dare to predict what is about to be born of our confusion, our frenzy, our apocalyptic madness. Certainly the old order is changing, but we do not know what is to come. All we know is that we see the many-crowned and many-headed monsters rising on all sides out of the deep, from the ocean of our own hidden and collective self. We do not understand them, and we cannot. We panic at the very sight of their iridescent scales, their jaws that flame with nuclear fire. But they pursue us relentlessly, even into absurd little caves fitted out with battery radios and hand-operated blowers. We find no security even in the spiritual cave of forgetfulness, the anesthesia of the human mind that finally shuts out an unbearable truth, and goes about the business of life in torpor and stoical indifference.

And yet the monsters do not have to come to life. They are not yet fully objective like the world around us. They do not have the substance which is given to things by the creative power of God: they are the spiritual emanations of our own sick and sinful being. They exist in and by us. They are from us. They cannot exist without us. They are our illusions. They are nightmares which our incredible technological skill can all too easily actualize. But they are also dreams from which we can awaken before it is too late. They are dreams which we can still, perhaps, choose not to dream.

#### MORAL PARALYSIS

The awful problem of our time is not so much the dreams, the monsters, which may take shape and consume us, but the moral paralysis in our own souls which leaves us immobile, inert, passive, tongue-tied, ready and even willing to succumb. The real tragedy is in the cold, silent waters of moral death which climb imperceptibly within us, blinding conscience, drowning compassion,

suffocating faith and extinguishing the spirit. A progressive deadening of conscience, of judgment and of compassion is the inexorable work of the cold war.

One thing is getting to be more and more certain. The balance of terror, which dictates all the policies of the two great armed power blocs, cannot stay "balanced" much longer. It will crash. It may crash very soon. Napoleon said you cannot sit on bayonets. You have to use them, if you have them. This is a thousand times more true of the monstrous weapons which offer an overwhelming advantage to the one who strikes first and who strikes hardest, who smashes everything the enemy has before the enemy can wake up to his danger.

The slightest false move, the most innocent miscalculation, an ill chosen word, a misprint, a trivial failure in the mechanism of a computer, and one hundred million people evaporate, burn to death, go up in radioactive dust, or crawl about the face of the earth waiting for death to release them from agony.

We are not good at resisting sin, even under the best conditions. But under the most violent provocation, under the most diabolical pressures, when we have abdicated from reason and morality, when we have frankly gone back to the law of the jungle, how much chance is there humanly speaking, that we can live without disaster?

Two things are clear. First, the enemy is not just one side or the other. The enemy is not just Russia, or China, or Communism, or Castro, or Khrushchev, or capitalism, or imperialism. The enemy is on both sides. The enemy is in all of us. The enemy is war itself, and the root of war is hatred, fear, selfishness, lust. Piux XII said in 1944, "If ever a generation has known in the depths of its being the cry of 'War on war' it is our own." As long as we arm only against Russia, we are fighting for the real enemy and against ourselves. We are fighting to release the monster in our own soul, which will destroy the world. We are fighting for the demon who strives to reassert his power over mankind. We have got to arm not against Russia but against war. Not only against war, but against hatred. Against lies. Against injustice. Against greed. Against every manifestation of these things, wherever they may be found, and above all in ourselves.

Yet at the same time we must not ignore the spiritual borderline that separates the nations of the West, with their Christian background, from the officially atheistic Communist bloc. We must avoid two extremes: seeing all good on our side and all evil on their side, or, on the contrary, dismissing both sides as totally evil. The fact remains that although the Communists have explicitly rejected the Christian ethical tradition, there may still remain in Communist-dominated countries strong surviving elements of that tradition. And although we of the West appeal to the Christian tradition in favor of our own cause, and do this quite legitimately, yet nevertheless there are materialistic and atheistic elements at work among us just as powerful and just as destructive of our tradition as the materialism and atheism of the official Communist ideology.

#### THE PRESSURE GROUPS

On both sides there are powerful and fanatical pressure groups dominated by their political obsessions, who drive towards nuclear war. On both sides the vast majority desire nothing but peace. The extremists on both sides are very much alike, though they regard one another as opposites. The moderates on both sides also have very much in common. One sometimes wonders if the real dividing line is not to be drawn between the fanatics (whether Russian or American) and the moderate, ordinary people of both sides.



In any case the policy makers and propagandists are tending more and more in the direction of what they call "realism": that is to say an all-out nuclear strike involving the mass destruction of civilians. In effect, the extreme bellicosity which leads each of the great power blocs to depend more and more on the threat of a pre-emptive attack, with no limit to the megatonic impact of the nuclear weapons and no discrimination between civil and military objectives, is equally immoral on both sides, equally inhuman and incompatible with Christian ethics.

In this restricted sense it may indeed be possible to find the same demonic evil at work, perhaps in different degrees, on both sides. Once one adopts the policy of nuclear "realism" which is purely and simply a policy of annihilation, then one abandons the moral advantage of fighting for freedom, justice and democracy. None of these values is likely to survive an all-out nuclear war. Even if one nation manages to win such a war, the conditions will be such that social, moral and spiritual values with which we are familiar, and which we should certainly be prepared to defend with our lives, will no longer be recognizable in the moral debacle. Such at least is the belief of Pope Pius XII and of John XXIII.

The conclusion is, then, that we must defend freedom and sanity against the bellicose fanaticism of all warmakers, whether "ours" or "theirs" and that we must strive to do so not with force but with the spiritual weapons of Christian prayer and action. But this action must be at once non-violent and decisive. Good intentions and fond hopes are not enough.

#### PROBLEM IS DEEPER

The present world crisis is not merely a political and economic conflict. It goes deeper than ideologies. It is a crisis of man's spirit. It is a great religious and moral upheaval of the human race, and we do not really know half the causes of this upheaval. We cannot pretend to have a full understanding of what is going on in ourselves and in our society. That is why our desperate hunger for clear and definite solutions sometimes leads us into temptation. We oversimplify. We seek the cause of evil and find it here or there in a particular nation, class, race, ideology, system. And we discharge upon this scapegoat all the virulent force of our hatred, compounded with fear and anguish striving to rid ourselves of our fear by destroying the object we have arbitrarily singled out as the embodiment of all evil. Far from curing us, this is only another paroxysm which aggravates our sickness.

The moral evil in the world is due to man's alienation from the deepest truth, from the springs of spiritual life within himself, to his alienation from God. Those who realize this, try desperately to persuade and enlighten their brothers. But we are in a radically different position from the first Christians, who revolutionized an essentially religious world of paganism with the message of a new religion that had never been heard of.

We on the contrary live in an irreligious world in which the Christian message has been repeated over and over until it has come to seem empty of all intelligible content to those whose ears close to the word of God even before it is uttered. In their minds Christianity is no longer identified with newness and change, but only with the static preservation of outworn structures. Doubtless Christians themselves have helped to create this unfortunate impression.

#### THE CLOSED MIND

This should teach us that though the words of the Gospel still objectively retain all the force and freshness of their original life, it is not enough now for us to make them known and clarify them. It is not enough to announce the familiar message that no

longer seems to be news. Not enough to teach, to explain, convince. Now, above all, it is the time to embody Christian truth in action even more than in words. No matter how lucid, how persuasive, how logical, how profound our theological and spiritual statements may be, they are often wasted on anyone who does not already think as we do. That is why the serene and almost classic sanity of moralists exposing the traditional teaching of Christian theologians on the "just war" is almost a total loss in the general clamor and confusion of half-truths, propaganda slogans, and pernicious clichés. Who will listen and agree, except another professional theologian? What influence can such statements have in preserving sanity, clear and logical though they may be?

#### THE PRESENT NEED

What is needed now is the Christian who manifests the truth of the Gospel in social action, with or without explanation. The more clearly his life manifests the teaching of Christ, the more salutary will it be. Clear and decisive Christian action explains itself, and teaches in a way that words never can.

What is wanted now is therefore not simply the Christian who takes an inner complacency in the words and example of Christ, but who seeks to follow Christ perfectly, not only in his own personal life, not only in prayer and penance, but also in his political commitments and in all his social responsibilities. The Christian conscience can hardly be at peace with a minimalist ethic which justifies and permits as much as possible of force and terror, in international politics and in war, instead of struggling in every way to restrain force and bring into being a positive international authority which can effectively prevent war and promote peace.

We are at a point of momentous choice. Either our frenzy of desperation will lead to destruction of our patient loyalty to truth to God and to our fellow man will enable us to perform the patient, heroic task of building a world that will thrive in unity and peace. At this point, Christian action will be decisive. That is why it is supremely important for us to keep our heads and refuse to be carried away by the wild projects of fanatics who seek an oversimplified and immediate solution by means of inhuman violence.

Christians have got to speak by their actions. Their political action must not be confined to the privacy of the polling booth. It must be clear and manifest to everybody. It must speak loudly and plainly the Christian truth, and it must be prepared to defend that truth with sacrifice, accepting misunderstanding, injustice, calumny, and even imprisonment or death. It is crucially important for Christians today to adopt a genuinely Christian position and support it with everything they have got. This means an unremitting fight for justice in every sphere—in labor, in race relations, in the "third world" and above all in international affairs.

This means (to adopt a current military cliché) closing the gap between our interior intentions and our exterior acts. Our social actions must conform to our deepest religious principles. Beliefs and politics can no longer be kept isolated from one another. It is no longer possible for us to be content with abstract and hidden acts of "purity of intention" which do nothing to make our outward actions different from those of atheists or agnostics.

Nor can we be content to make our highest ideal the preservation of a minimum of ethical rectitude prescribed by natural law. Too often the nobility and grandeur of natural law have been debased and deformed by the manipulation of theories until natural law has become indistinguishable from the law of the jungle, which is no law at all. Hence those who complacently pre-

scribe the duty of national defense on the basis of "natural law" often forget entirely the norms of justice and humanity without which no war can be permitted. Without those norms, natural law becomes mere jungle law, that is to say crime.

The Popes have repeatedly pleaded with Christian people to show themselves in all things disciples of Christ the Prince of Peace, and to embody in their lives their faith in His teachings. "All His teaching is an invitation to peace," says Pope John XXIII in the 1961 Christmas message. Deploping the ever-increasing selfishness, hardness of heart, cynicism and callousness of mankind, as war becomes once again more and more imminent, Pope John says that Christian goodness and charity must permeate all the activity, whether personal or social of every Christian. The pontiff quotes St. Leo the Great in a passage which contrasts natural ethics with the nonviolent ethic of the Gospel:

"To commit injustice and to make reparation—this is the prudence of the world. On the contrary, not to render evil for evil, is the virtuous expression of Christian forgiveness." These words, embodying the wisdom of the church and the heart of her moral teaching, are heard without attention and complacently dismissed even by Catholics.

#### CHRISTIANITY IS ALSO FOR NATIONS

Too often, in practice, we tend to assume that the teaching of Christian forgiveness and meekness applies only to the individual, not to nations or collectivities. The state can go to war and exert every form of violent force, while the individual expresses his Christian meekness by shouldering his gun without resistance and obeying the command to go out and kill. This is not Pope John's idea at all. He utters a solemn warning to rulers of nations: "With the authority we have received from Jesus Christ we say: Shun all thought of force; think of the tragedy of initiating a chain reaction of acts, decisions and resentments which could erupt into rash and irreparable deeds. You have received great powers not to destroy but to build, not to divide but to unite, not to cause tears to be shed but to provide employment and security."

Christian action is based on the Christian conscience, and conscience has to be informed by moral truth. What are the moral options open to the Catholic in regard to nuclear war? This has seldom been made clear, and it is tragic to observe that many Catholics are in a state of ignorance and confusion on some very important points. The vague statement that "a Catholic cannot be a pacifist" is taken in much too sweeping and absolute a sense. Actually it is true that in the Christian message of 1956 Pope Pius XII reminded the faithful of their duty to face the "unpleasant reality . . . of an enemy determined to impose on all people, in one way or another, a special and intolerable way of life." Referring to violent tactics used by communism, including atomic blackmail and the ruthless suppression of resistance in weaker nations, the Pope said that these tactics would have to be resisted. Pius XII clearly had the recent Hungarian uprising in mind when he declared that Christians might have the right and the duty to resist oppression by force if no other means were available or effective.

Hence he said that in the case of extreme danger a legitimately constituted government, after every effort to avoid war has been expended in vain might lawfully wage a war of self-defense against unjust attack. The Pope laid down many clear conditions for the legitimacy of such a war. It would have to be strictly a war of defense, against evidently unjust attack. All efforts at keeping peace must have been unavailing. Legitimate means of defense must be used. There must be hope of effective self-defense and of a favorable outcome. In view of such a situation, if the nation takes defensive pre-



cautions with legitimate instruments of internal and external policy, then the citizen would have an obligation to serve the nation in its defense effort. He could not appeal to his conscience to refuse military service imposed by law. At the same time the Pope deplored the necessity of such laws and pointed to "general disarmament as an effective remedy."

Without commenting in detail on this statement of Pius XII, two things must be stressed: First that the Pope is not setting aside the Christian conscience in matters of war. The Christian remains obliged in conscience to weigh the matters seriously and to consider whether or not the conditions laid down are in fact fulfilled. In the case of all-out nuclear war, there exists a serious problem as to whether or not the "means" may be considered legitimate, either in themselves or in the manner in which they are obviously to be used.

#### THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

Far from dismissing or slighting the individual conscience in this matter, the Pope says immediately that "there are occasions in the lives of nations when only recourse to higher principles can establish clearly the boundaries between right and wrong." He adds: "It is therefore consoling that in some countries, amid today's debates, men are talking about conscience and its demands."

It must therefore clearly be stated that the measured and clearly qualified terms in which Pius XII admitted that there could still be a just war, at least (so the context seems to suggest) with conventional weapons, this did not mean that the government purely and simply had the last word and that Christian conscience was no longer to be consulted. He was not prescribing blind obedience to any government in any situation in which the power struggle might dictate war by any methods as the expedient thing.

Note also that the obligation is not strictly to fight and to kill but to serve the country in some capacity, according to its laws. Hence the Catholic who feels that in conscience he ought to choose the more perfect way of avoiding bloodshed and serving in the ambulance corps or in some other non-combatant capacity retains the right to follow his conscience in this matter, and indeed ought to follow it. And his requests ought to be respected.

But do these distinctions apply in an all-out nuclear war?

One other remark made by Pius XII in the same address is very important. He devotes several paragraphs to the problem of discerning accurately when peace is and is not really threatened, when there is and is not a serious emergency, and how the calculated threats and recriminations of power politicians are really to be interpreted. This gravely affects the whole question of that "extreme danger" which makes defensive measures urgent and obligatory.

In conclusion, we must not forget that Pope XII's affirmation that a just war could still be possible and that the Christian might be bound to serve in it, must always be seen against the background of his insistence upon general disarmament and the policy of peace. He explicitly states in this message that it is not "abandoning that mission of peace which flows from our apostolic office," still less "calling Christendom to a crusade."

Clearly we cannot assert that a Catholic is bound in conscience to accept passively every form of war and military force that his government may decide to use against an enemy. According to this view, a good Christian is one who shrinks from no work of violent destruction commanded by the state in war. How far that would be from the primitive idea that the good Christian normally refused military service and suffered violence in himself rather than inflicting it on others.

Such a misconception could lead to the awful conclusion that a Catholic commanded by a new Hitler to operate the furnaces of another Dachau would be "only doing his duty" if he obeyed. The noble Christian concept of duty and sacrifice must not be debased to the point where the Christian becomes the passive and servile instrument of inhuman governments.

In brief: A Catholic is permitted to hold the following views of nuclear war.

(a) Many sound theologians have taught that the traditional conditions of a just war cannot be fully realized today and that, as Pope Pius XII himself said "the theory of war as an apt and proportionate means of solving international conflicts is now out of date." In practice, what has been called "relative pacificism" can very certainly be held and is held by many Catholics. Without rejecting the traditional teaching that a "just war" can theoretically be possible under certain well-defined conditions, this view holds that nuclear war is by its very nature beyond the limits of the traditional doctrine. This is supported by very clear statements of Cardinal Ottaviani and Pope Pius XII. Hence, though it is not the definitive "teaching of the church" it is certainly not only a tenable doctrine but seems to be the soundest and most traditional opinion.

(b) Though absolute pacificism in a completely unqualified form has been reprobated, nevertheless today the pacifist standpoint pure and simple tends in practice to rejoin the above view, since a Catholic can be a pacifist in a particular case when there are very serious reasons for believing that even a limited war may be unjust, or may "escalate" to proportions which violate justice. It is to be noted that when a war is evidently unjust a Catholic not only may refuse to serve but he is morally obligated to refuse to participate in it.

(c) Catholic tradition has always admitted the legality of a defensive war where there is a just cause, right intention, and use of the right means. It is argued that a limited nuclear war for defensive purposes can fulfill the requirements of a just war, and that therefore it is right and just to possess stockpiles of nuclear weapons and to threaten retaliation for a nuclear attack. This may be and is held by many Catholics, and it is probably the majority opinion among Catholics in the United States. But it can be said that this position, while specious and reasonable in theory, becomes very dangerous when we consider the actual facts. All theologians agree that the unrestricted use of nuclear weapons for the simple purpose of annihilation of civilian centers is completely immoral. It is nothing but murder and is never permitted, any more than a nuclear preemptive strike on civilian centers would be permitted by Christian ethics.

Could a preemptive attack on the military installations of the enemy be admitted as a "just" defensive measure? To do so would seem very rash in view of the disastrous consequences of the retaliatory war that would inevitably be unleashed, and would inevitably entail the total mass destruction of great centers of population. The statement quoted above from Pope John XXIII, while not formerly declaring such an action intrinsically evil, is a solemn warning not to initiate, by any form of aggression, a chain of acts of war and violence. While it may be all very well for theologians to theorize about a limited nuclear war, it is all too clear that the game of nuclear deterrence uses the cities of the enemy as hostages, and that the policies of the two great power blocs are frankly built on the threat of an all-out war of annihilation.

In such a situation our Christian duty is clear. Though no Catholic is formally obliged to adhere to a policy of immediate nuclear disarmament, whether multilateral

or unilateral, he is certainly obliged to do everything he can, in his own situation, to work for peace. It is difficult to see how one can work for peace without ultimately seeking disarmament. If he holds one of the above opinions which are tenable he becomes obliged to a course of action which promotes peace according to his view.

It would, however, be a serious mistake to limit Christian obligations in the present crisis to a course of action that does not conflict with sound moral principles. The problem is deeper. What is needed is a deeply Christian social action that will have the power to renew society because it springs from the inner renewal of the Christian and of his church.

#### THE REAL PROBLEM

The real problem of our time is basically spiritual. One important aspect of this problem is the fact that in so many Christians, the Christian conscience seems to function only as a rudimentary vestigial faculty, robbed of its vigor and incapable of attaining its full purpose: a life transformed in the charity of Christ.

The mature moral conscience is one that derives its strength and its light not from external directives alone but above all from an inner spiritual connaturality with the deepest values of nature and of grace. Such a conscience is rooted and grounded in human compassion and in the charity of Christ. The most important thing for us all to do (and this is a spiritual task which is essential to Christian renewal) is to recover this hidden "ground" in which sound spiritual judgment and fruitful action can grow abundantly.

But the great danger of our cold war obsessions is their dreadful capacity to sterilize that inner "ground" and make it utterly fruitless. When this happens we tend to judge by a connaturality with violence, and not with love. Constantly exposed to dread, to anguish, to a strange force which menaces our security and our attachment to an effluent society with its privileges and all its soothing irresponsibilities and comforts, we come to feel that menace as a spiritual fact. Insofar as our existence is at stake, and the structure of our religious beliefs and practices is at stake along with it, we experience the threat of communism and of war as a kind of ultimate spiritual test. We have to face it with a radical decision, with a self-commitment analogous in some respects to martyrdom. Indeed there is no question that we may have to be, in actual fact, martyrs.

True, there is a fateful element of ambiguity even in the promise that our death at the hands of a persecutor can rate as martyrdom. Are we to die because we are Christians or because we are bourgeois? It does make a difference. But at any rate, the possibility of destruction or at least of persecution by a ruthless and clever enemy, whose power and success we are never allowed to forget, begets intolerable anguish. This anguish, shared with others like ourselves, mounting into indignation and resentment produces a kind of spurious exaltation. The will to resist by any available means, and without concern even for the most disastrous possible miscarriage of our hopes, then appears to us as bravery. We allow our desperation and our hatred to swallow up our moral judgment, because we feel like crusaders. The enthusiasm we are able to feel, from time to time, when we reflect on the frightful power of our weapons, may also assume a decidedly noxious pseudoreligious quality.

Yet all this proceeds from an inner ground of false spirituality, of debased and brain-washed enthusiasm. Like the disciples who wanted to call down fire upon the city of the Samaritans, we do not realize by what spirit we are inspired. Unfortunately this cold war



mentality not only blinds us to true Christian values but makes all our judgments spring from this ground of sterility and frustration in which the best seed can only die and in which the weeds of hatred and incipient fascism, (or communism for that matter) very easily flourish.

It is therefore above all vitally necessary to cultivate an inner ground of deep faith and purity of conscience, which cannot exist without true sacrifice. Genuine Christian action has, in fact, to be based on a complete sacrificial offering of our self and our life, in the service of truth. Short of this, we cannot attain sufficient detachment from our own selfish interests and from the peripheral concerns of a wealthy, spiritually indolent society. Without this detachment we cannot possibly see nuclear war as it really is, and we will consequently betray Christ and his church, in the mistaken conviction that in defending our wealth we are defending Christian truth.

The Catholic, who believes, as the Popes themselves seem quite clearly to believe, that a nuclear war will most probably be a completely unjust war because its destructive effects cannot be controlled, and that it is in any case unreasonable and totally undesirable, will be obliged to base his political activity on the conviction that war must be prevented here and now, and that we must try as best we can to work for its eventual abolition.

There are many reasons to believe that the social action of someone like Dorothy Day, who is willing to refuse cooperation even in civil defense drills and ready to go to jail for her belief in peace, is far more significantly Christian than the rather subtle and comfy positions of certain casuists. When I consider that Dorothy Day was confined to a jail cell in nothing but a light wrap (her clothes having been taken from her) and that she could only get to mass and communion in the prison by dressing in clothes borrowed from prostitutes and thieves in the neighboring cells, then I lose all inclination to take seriously the self-complacent nonsense of those who consider her kind of pacifism sentimental.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator from Oregon.

HONORABLE SIR: It was my privilege to hear and see you on television yesterday. Also an article in New York World Telegram. I am with you 100 percent. I am 76 years old. Still active in plumbing business. Consists of 80 to 100 men. Was founder of Woodrow Wilson Independent League, 1916, in Bergen County. A great admirer of Stevenson, our Ambassador to United Nations. But don't agree with him on Vietnam policies. So far can't see President Eisenhower policy—I have been in 27 countries including Russia. Speak Czech, German, Polish. Born in Brooklyn, 1888—76 years young. During World War I slept with Chinese. They crawled in my bed in Brooklyn Navy Yard. I somehow got along with them. We made one mistake. Should have them in United Nations. To me the French got out. We should have stayed out. I was taken a prisoner in 1938 as a spy. In Neuremberg, Germany, by Hitler's men. A long story. Been in Czechoslovakia four times, last time after 25 years—in 1961. I was a member of selective service. If you meet the U.S. Senator, ROMAN HRUSKA, of Nebraska. Know him 8 years. We gained nothing in Korea—but lost—thousands of your men and cripples. We will do the same in Vietnam and get chased out as did the French. I knew Masaryk, Benes personally for years. Admirer of Anthony Eden. Wrote to him often. Been in England. The majority is not always right. I'd rather be

like Woodrow Wilson—our great late President John F. Kennedy.

You will excuse my long letter. Hope you can read it. Really have one good eye, got other damaged in explosion.

Wishing you and your family and your journey through life success and health.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM ZABRANSKY, JR.

P.S.—Enclosed are news clipping that may interest you. I wrote Senator FULBRIGHT some time ago.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

HON. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: After reading your speech on South Vietnam, I had an overwhelming desire to tell you how much I respect and admire your opinion and your courage.

According to the newspapers, Congress and the "Free World" are favorably impressed with President Johnson's decision. Their opinion is that it was "justified retaliation."

Be it as it may, only you, my dear Senator, had the courage of being a nonconformist.

Progress and discoveries that changed the dogmatic believers came about from people like yourself.

They stood alone against world opinion, defending their unpopular ideas, disregarding their safety and comfort.

These men showed us the way to progress and freedom.

We may recall President Johnson's phrase from his state of the Union message: "There is strength in unity in a world made safe for diversity." We owe you our profound gratitude. Our faith in democracy is much stronger, thanks to you.

Respectfully yours,

EVA SOLTZER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

DAYTON, OHIO,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRIEND: Thank you so much for your efforts in opposing further involvement in Vietnam. I recently attended (in June) a State Department briefing in Cleveland, and I am convinced that the American people are being brainwashed. It is tragic indeed to see the administration take actions which may spread the war.

I have read Robert Trumbull of the New York Times analysis, have also seen David Arnold, formerly of USIS, and talked to several Asians about the situation. All agree that there is a civil war—contrary to U.S. propaganda—that we cannot win a struggle for men's minds by military efforts, and that we are wrong.

I feel that ethically and morally we are embarked on a wrong course of action, but a Mr. Sullivan in the State Department who seems to be the chief architect, is convinced otherwise. He is backed by W. W. Rostow, who could well be removed from Government.

Thank you again, and I do hope you will continue to speak out.

Sincerely,

MATT H. THOMSON.

LA MIRADA, CALIF.,  
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: In these trying times I want to congratulate you on your attitude in regards to the Vietnam holocaust.

Your voice seems to be the only one principally dedicated toward lessening tensions, not increasing them.

I certainly agree that the United Nations

is the only peace for disputes to be worked out effectively. A shooting war of today cannot be considered as a stopping point. It could lead us to annihilation in nuclear warfare.

Again, thank you for speaking out in favor of negotiations.

Mrs. P. STEELE,  
A Mother of Three Boys.

PETALUMA, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We wish to express our support for your opposition to President Johnson's resolution allowing the President to get our country into war without declaring war and without the approval of the Congress.

We appreciate your support for our constitutional rights and wish there were more people like you, with your courage and integrity, in the Senate.

Sincerely,

MARY MCCHESENEY.  
ROBERT MCCHESENEY.  
BYRON RANDALL.

MALAGA, N. MEX.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The people listen to your words on South Vietnam.

But they can't believe that we've shelled out \$1½ million per day over there for how long?

So, sir, will you please repeat this every time you speak and see that news media prints it in all papers.

I can't understand our sudden patriotic gunshots. Anyone and everyone of those boys murdered in South Vietnam were the flag of our country. A ship is a ship is a ship, but humans come first.

God bless you.

Mrs. ESTELLE B. COX.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE L. MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Once again I would like to thank you for your continued quest for sanity in our Asian policy. For to those who do not know any of the history of the Vietnam war and of our past actions, the recent attacks on our destroyers seem more aggressive than they really are.

History will show the stupidity and senselessness of the American participation in Vietnam—though it can never bring back the 260 Americans who have died for no reason.

Daniel Webster once said that "Whatever government is not a government of laws is a despotism, let it be called what it may." In today's shrunken world this should be amended to read "Whatever world is not a world of laws is a despotism, let it be called what it may."

I have enclosed letters that I sent to Senators Javits and Keating and President Johnson and an editorial of Friday, August 7, 1964, from the New York Post, which favors a solution on the lines suggested by both you and the great Senator from Alaska—ERNEST GRUENING.

Senator MORSE, it is about time the Senate and the country listens to peacemakers, instead of warmakers, so again, please continue to speak out against our reckless actions in Asia.

Sincerely,

NEIL M. HORWITZ.



BROOKLYN, N.Y.  
The Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am shocked at the needless and senseless show of force that you ordered at North Vietnam. When, however, it is examined as a part of our total policy toward southeast Asia it then fits in.

Might is never right in itself. After our destroyers were attacked and they defended themselves the fighting should have ended. We need not and should not have played their game and fell to their level by the bombing of North Vietnamese bases. This is aggression. When we indiscriminately bomb North and South Vietnamese and Cambodian hamlets can we not but expect these desperate people to attempt something—even something as stupid as attacking our destroyers?

Our participation in the Vietnamese civil war is illegal, immoral, and just plain stupid. If we are basing our entry on the SEATO treaty then where are the Thai, Pakistanis, New Zealanders, Australians, and Filipinos? They are sitting home watching us make a fool of ourselves as the French did in 1954.

If our entry is based on the Geneva accords, which neither we nor South Vietnam signed, where are the other signatory nations and why have we not used this agreement to call for a new conference? Because we would be found to be violating the treaty as would Red China, North Vietnam, and South Vietnam. If our entry is based upon our Constitution where is the declaration of war? For it is a war. Two hundred and sixty Americans have already been murdered and 10 times that may soon follow.

Let me remind you of the United Nations Charter. Article 33, section 1 says that "The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." This we have not done. Surely we cannot say that international peace and security have not been endangered. Article 37, section 1 says that "Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that article, they shall refer it to the Security Council." This, too, we have not done. There is no reason for this neglect.

Once again, as with the test-ban treaty, we have the chance to take another step toward peace. Let us take it. Let us bring the Vietnamese civil war before the United Nations, late as it is and show the world that we do not believe that might makes right. Let us plead our case before the United Nations and not in the battlefield. Let us do this because it is the right thing to do. Let us put Russia on the spot and force them toward peace not war. Let us force Russia to side against war and give them the chance to put their words of peace into deeds. And if the United Nations proves incapable of taking command we will still have our troops in Vietnam ready to continue "forever" with, at least, the knowledge that we tried. But if the United Nations takes command as it did in the Congo, in the Middle East, and in Cyprus then we will have earned the gratitude of the world and a world of law and of peace would be that much closer. This we owe ourselves and all of mankind. This we must do.

Sincerely,

NEIL M. HORWITZ.

SHREVEPORT, LA.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have read in the press that you have voted against that insane war

in Vietnam and I hasten to congratulate you for your courage and integrity.

Vietnam, South and North, as well as Laos and Cambodia, which once was called French Indochina, is not worth the life of one American soldier. The only solution of that mess in South Vietnam (in which mess plunged us the insane foreign policy of the late John Foster Dulles) is to heed the advice of the French President de Gaulle and to declare South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia neutral after an international agreement, to save face and to get out of South Vietnam.

I believe the majority of the American people are against that insane and infamous war in South Vietnam and they do not want another Korea.

This insane policy of the Johnson administration to escalate the war to North Vietnam will plunge us to the third world war and in this nuclear age, destroy all of us, probably the whole human race.

In this terrible nuclear age, anyone who thinks about war is either ignorant or out of his mind.

I hope sanity to prevail and to avoid another Korea, and you are the man who thinks right about this dirty war, and all of us who believe in peace, we are grateful to you, Senator.

Hoping you success in your noble efforts for peace in southeast Asia, I remain,

Very truly yours,

GEORGE T. PAPPAS.

August 5, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please permit me to congratulate you on your manly stand on our present crisis in Asia. This affair looks very much like the Bay of Pigs in 1961. Please be assured that you are not alone in your demand that we should get out of Asia at once.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM S. MILSON,

SAN BERNARDINO, CALIF.

SHARON CENTER, OHIO,

August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

SENATOR MORSE: We are with you all the way in your opposition to the current policy in Vietnam.

Sincerely,

W. W. JOHNSON.

MISS ALICE JOHNSON.

PENNSAUKEN, N.J.,

August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: All accounts of the trouble in the shooting affair in southeast indicates that our ships were attacked by PT boats. You have publicly stated that "Our forces are at fault." We provoked the attacks. We have been provoking this attack for the past 10 years. You are a U.S. Senator. I respect all opinions of our statesmen. You are in the United States. The shooting occurred in a far away place. How did you know so quickly that we were at fault. What is the source of your information. Why is this information not available to me. Please give me some facts to substantiate your claims.

Respectfully,

M. GLICKMAN.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,

August 7, 1964.

The PRESIDENT,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We believe that our presence in Vietnam up to now has been both dangerous and immoral: Dangerous because, as graphically illustrated by the current crisis, our participation in the fighting

has represented a continuing threat to world peace; immoral because we have supported, using brutal and inhumane means, a government which is not representative of the people of Vietnam, and which has invariably acted against their welfare.

We therefore urge that all efforts be made to settle the crisis by negotiation, the only acceptable means of settling international disputes in this thermonuclear age; and that plans be made to hold a general election under the terms of the 1954 Geneva agreement.

Sincerely,

ALAN REIN.

MARY REIN.

FRANK BANCROFT.

Copies to W. MORSE, T. KUCHEL, E. GRUENING, P. SALINGER.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: What would we Americans do without an honest, courageous man like you that speaks the truth no matter how unpopular it might be?

Keep speaking up on the southeast Asian situation.

Sincerely,

Mrs. LLOYD S. WOLF.

DEAR SENATOR: BRAVO. Keep it up. Someone must keep expressing reality in this country.

Sincerely,

PERRY M. STURGES.

ASHLAND, MASS.,

August 7, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: For days I have been deeply worried about your aggressive "self-defense" policy in the Gulf of Tonkin, but have only expressed my opinion once since that was the only time it was solicited. This morning, while I was shaving, I heard a Westinghouse Broadcasting network newscast quoting Bostonians interviewed on the street, in their attitudes toward your policy. Unanimously, the voices sounded indignation over the North Vietnam PT boat actions, and complete support of your policy. The most negative comment, from among at least a dozen, was "What else can we do?"

Though I was incredulous to find myself so alone in my own country, and in my own part of the country, I decided not to be cynical and suspect the network of having chosen only comments supporting the defensive action. Instead I quietly accepted the fact that there must be something awfully wrong with my view of the world. I was momentarily jolted from this notion on my subway ride to work by comments in the New York Times to the effect that much world opinion—admittedly neutralist or Communist—was opposed to your action. But, on second thought I could derive little consolation from this since all it left me with were suspicions that I am a poor American, who could only find bedfellows in foreign and nonallied lands. My debate with myself was at an end. I thought.

Then, when I stepped out for lunch, I came suddenly upon a completely silent, very impressive demonstration by about 10 persons, including clergymen, who stood stock still holding hand-lettered posters to the effect that our current policy in the Gulf of Tonkin is very dangerous, and urging any who agreed with this position to let you know. It suddenly dawned on me that you would want to know of people like my wife and me who—though ardent supporters of your domestic policy—are frightened about the consequences of this aspect of your foreign policy; and that, if you read the New York Times, or listen to radio station WBZ in Boston, you wouldn't have the faintest suspicion that our opinion, and those of the silent poster holders, existed. Knowing that you would certainly want to know that there is a minority of undetermined size among your electorate



which dissents with you, I decided to write you this letter, and to send copies of it to several Senators whom I thought would be or ought to be interested in my views.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD STEINMAN.

(Copies to Senators BARTLETT, AIKEN, GRUENING, KENNEDY, MORSE, PELL, and SALTONSTALL.)

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your criticism of the recent American military attack upon North Vietnam. At a time when there seems to be a "bipartisan" coalition for war and military exploits, you've shown great courage in opposing the dangerous drift in American foreign policy toward settling disputes through the use of force.

It appears obvious to us that the trifling adventures of a few North Vietnamese PT boats did not require massive American military retaliation and threat of full-scale war. The United Nations would seem to be the area to resort to when faced with such provocations. Therefore, the uncalled for military response by the United States can only be understood in terms of its growing desperation about the losing war in South Vietnam. The PT boat incidents were a good excuse to make a show of force in the Far East in an attempt to back up a deteriorating situation.

Such saber rattling is not only dangerous, however, it is also futile, for it will not deal with the causes of revolution in southeast Asia. Until the United States replaces its war with negotiations, and its guns with support of the goals of the local social revolutions, it will be wasting its efforts while courting nuclear annihilation. It is indeed encouraging to hear you speak out against this policy of unilateral force.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. LAWRENCE S. WITTNER.

SEATTLE, WASH.,

August 8, 1964.

Senators WAYNE MORSE and ERNEST

GRUENING,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: The members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation generally, and I personally, wish strongly to commend you for your splendid stand on our miserable involvement in South Vietnam. We particularly appreciate your vote yesterday in opposition to the blanket endorsement given President Johnson to continue any intervention in southeast Asia.

We feel there are a growing number of Americans who are sick and tired of the whole business and want us to get out of it now and seek a negotiated settlement.

We are sure that you will continue your opposition. You are assured of our wholehearted support in doing so.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT B. SHAW,  
Chairman.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.:

The plan for us to go to war, if necessary, against the north half of the smallest, weakest country in Asia to secure peace is altogether new and novel in world history; it is also new as a necessary means for maintaining our national prestige. It would be like a St. Bernard dog attacking a mouse so as to avoid the appearance of cowardice.

In every one of the liberated countries there will undoubtedly be revolutions for generations as in South America. For anyone to talk about establishing stable condi-

tions in these countries while exploration is still in progress and while the people are illiterate and without experience in self-government would appear to me to be childish nonsense.

I earnestly suggest that your administration honestly support your solemn declarations for the promotion of world peace, that we stop bypassing the U.N., and that we allow the inherent weaknesses of communism to continue without interference from war in order that communism may collapse in due time. To fear communism in peacetime shows a lack of confidence in free enterprise—the best system ever developed—a system which has been weakened only by our stupid participation in two World Wars, both carried on by our side in the name of freedom.

Thanks for your masterful work.

REX S. RUDEBUSH.

TACOMA, WASH.

PARMA, OHIO.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SENATOR: I want to commend you for your courage and stand in the current southeast Asia crisis.

I believe that nonviolent forms of peace-making are the only ways to solve international strife.

Sincerely,

JOHN P. MARHEVKEE.

DEMING, N. MEX.,

August 6, 1964.

Mr. SENATOR MORSE:

You are in the right about Vietnam, you and Charles de Gaulle.

MAMIE SCONCE.

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, D.C., July 9, 1964.

Mrs. F. W. McCONNELL,  
San Diego, Calif.

DEAR Mrs. McCONNELL: The people, and the Government, of the United States oppose communism. We earnestly support the aspirations of people, in Asia and around the globe, for independence and a just peace.

Vietnam is divided in two parts, like Korea and Germany. South Vietnam desires to be free. The Communist conspiracy desires to engulf and destroy her. If communism were successful in that area, 12 million people would immediately lose their freedom; and 150 million people, in adjacent free countries, would face far greater dangers of being mercilessly swept into the Red orbit.

President Eisenhower, responding to the urgent request of Vietnam, agreed to give that country assistance by which she might defend herself against Red subversion and attack. That has been the continuing policy of our Government.

Should we now abandon the cause of freedom in Vietnam? I do not believe so. If we broke our word in this situation, how could our free friends—and our potential enemies—expect us to honor our word next time? There is a simple way to achieve peace in southeast Asia—let the Communist leave their neighbors alone.

Sincerely,

THOMAS H. KUCHEL,  
U.S. Senator.

PASADENA, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I applaud your stand expressed on BS at 8:15 P.s.t.

If what you indicate about the U.S. destroyers most probably guarding South Vietnam ships while the latter were in the process of shelling North Vietnam shores is true, then I agree with your conclusion, and

feel that the United States should have limited its action to direct defense while under attack. If the case was otherwise, I would tend to agree with President Johnson's decision.

I felt that Senator FULBRIGHT's refutation of your view was valid only up to a point. His simile was poorly chosen, and although logical to most Americans is not reasonable for civilized nations since in essence the United States is chasing the burglar out of the house before clubbing him. Senator SALTONSTALL's view is in my opinion an anachronism of the 19th century and is not worth the time to debate.

Again, thank you for expressing your personal views publicly, even though they will be immensely unpopular in the near future.

Sincerely,

RICHARD P. PHARIS.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to commend you on your position in the Vietnam crisis.

As you have pointed out, our presence in that troubled country can only lead either to a debacle such as France suffered, or worse yet, trigger a nuclear war.

Submission of the question to the United Nations is a reasonable and sensible proposal which I hope will be followed by our Government.

It certainly takes courage to stick to your stand on this critical issue.

Would there were more legislators with your principles. We certainly could use them in this period.

I have also written to Senator KUCHEL.

Respectfully yours,

FRED FRIEDMAN.

MONTEBELLO, CALIF.

LOS ANGELES,

August 7, 1964.

Hon. SENATOR MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is with deep interest, appreciation and admiration that I listened to your statement on the present Vietnam crisis. As one of many peace-loving Americans, I give you my wholehearted support. All our efforts must be directed toward peace. You have stated so correctly what our position should be, that there is no need to reiterate it. Military intervention cannot and must not take the place of negotiation. It is the United Nations that has to solve these world problems as they arise. No country, including ours, has the right to resort to unilateral action that will drag us into another war.

Please stand fast, Senator. Yours is one of the few voices raised for the just course to follow. Your insight and foresight, your challenging courage will be remembered by posterity. I am sure that I express the sentiment of many mothers and wives, as well as of many clear-thinking people who have no vested interests in war.

With my deep respect.

Sincerely,

RACHEL LIPH.

SEATTLE, WASH.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing this letter to express my support for the courageous stand you have taken in this Vietnam situation. It is indeed encouraging to know that someone is standing up in opposition to the dangerous foreign policies which both Democrats and Republicans are endorsing.

It makes one shudder to contemplate the dangers inherent in policies practiced by our



leaders in the foreign field. The "shooting from the hip" philosophy is not Goldwater's monopoly.

I am doing what I can to talk to my neighbors and other voters about the situation in southeast Asia. We are fortunate to have a candidate for the U.S. Senate who supports your position in southeast Asia, and it is indeed heartening to talk to people, as they are openminded and looking for answers. I find that most of them are very concerned about the war situation.

If possible, I would like to receive a copy of your speech in Congress regarding the resolution on the southeast Asia situation. The Seattle papers print very little of your position.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. ANN CARLSON.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,

July 6, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: You possess that apparently rare combination of intelligence and courage. My wife and I commend you. Stand fast; your "liberal" brethren have not the visceral qualities to challenge or perhaps even to see the hypocrisy of those massmen—L.B.J. and Senator GOLDWATER.

If you can reply \* \* \* will HUMPHREY do anything about the U.S. "bipartisan" (a euphemism for "unquestioned") policy re Vietnam?

Sincerely yours,

JOE W. WEBB.

NOTE.—This is my first letter to the Hill.

DO YOU WANT ANOTHER KOREA? ACT TODAY,  
TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE

THIS IS THE ROAD TO WAR

Expansion of the war has already begun. It means sending more American soldiers and money to Vietnam, where we already have 16,000 military "advisers," 5,000 civilians, and where we have increased our expenditures of \$1,500,000 per day during the past 2 years.

U.S. killed, wounded, or missing: January 1, 1961–May 15, 1964: 1,105 according to the Pentagon. How many more lives will be sacrificed?

U.S. WARNINGS

An aircraft carrier task force with reconnaissance jets has been moved into the South China Sea. The United States has given the Vietnamese Air Force an additional 100 aircraft. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said May 22 the war could be expanded "if the Communists persist in their course of aggression." General Harkness said, June 22: "The danger of communism in Vietnam is so great it justifies an all-out war with China."

To carry the war into North Vietnam and risk another Korea "would surely lead to Chinese intervention and could precipitate a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union."

JOHN S. KNIGHT,  
Chicago News.

There is an alternative: Do you want another, and worse, Korea?

This is the road to Peace an immediate conference should be called for the purpose of achieving a settlement of all the nations involved in the dispute. "The problem in southeast Asia—is essentially a political problem, and only political and diplomatic means \* \* \* can solve it.

U THANT,  
Secretary General, U.N.

"There are no Chinese soldiers fighting in Vietnam; there are no Russian soldiers. The only foreign troops are American \* \* \* the unilateral war being conducted by the United States in Vietnam must be stopped; and the only force that can stop it is American public opinion."

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

Democrat of Oregon.

"Why has not this threat been brought before the U.N.?"

Gen. HUGH HESTER,  
U.S. Army (Retired).

"The time has come to reverse our policy of undertaking to defend areas such as South Vietnam \* \* \*. A return of troops to our own shores should begin \* \* \*"

Senator ERNEST GRUENING,  
Democrat of Alaska.

The United States must work for a peaceful solution in South Vietnam, as opposed to a military solution.

The people of South Vietnam have the right to choose the kind of government they want.

Your voice is important: act today, tomorrow may be too late.

Speak out on Vietnam now! Write, phone, telegraph, and visit your Senators and Congressman. Ask them to urge President Johnson to stop the fighting and start negotiating for peace in Vietnam.

Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON,

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON,

Senate Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

Congressman TOM PELLY,

House Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

Write or wire President Lyndon B. Johnson, White House, Washington, D.C.

Seattle Women Act for Peace, 5411 Ravenna Avenue NE., Seattle, Wash. Write or wire now.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE VIETNAM  
CRISIS

Vietnam \* \* \* populated centuries ago by migrants from southern China \* \* \* won independence from China in the 10th century \* \* \* fought Chinese domination for 1,000 years.

In 1885 France colonized the territory now known as North and South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia \* \* \* called Indochina. After 85 years of exploitation, France gave Indochina to Japan without a shot being fired.

During World War II Vietnamese formed National Liberation Movement called Vietminh, now called Vietcong. Vietnamese freed themselves from foreign domination briefly in 1945. France attempted to regain their colony \* \* \* bloody war ensued until 1954 \* \* \* France defeated \* \* \* Geneva Conference convened.

Geneva Conference decisions: 1. Recognized independence of all Vietnam. Signatory powers were France, Britain, China, Canada, India, Russia, et al.

2. Vietnam divided at 17th parallel with free elections to be held by 1956 to reunify country. France was to turn over power to Vietminh in north and to Emperor Bao Dai in south.

3. All foreign troops to be withdrawn by 1956. United States verbally agreed to Geneva agreement \* \* \* but intervened in South Vietnam to help Ngo Dinh Diem form a pro-Western dictatorship \* \* \* overthrown in November 1963.

Terror and suffering still stalk this war-ravaged land. We are now faced with expanding war in Vietnam, or finding peaceful solutions.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Hon. Senator MORSE.

I heartily endorse your stand on Cuba and Vietnam. I believe that tough peaceful negotiation will save the world from destruction. I wish you good health so that you can carry on your good work. God bless you.

Sincerely yours,

LOUIS MEISNER.

DETROIT, MICH.,

August 8, 1964.

The Hon. WAYNE L. MORSE,

U.S. Senate

Washington, D.C.

SIR: Your opposition to yesterday's congressional resolution on Vietnam was the last ray of light before a long age of darkness.

Yours very truly,

RICHARD SCHICK, M.A.,  
School of Advanced International Studies  
of The Johns Hopkins University.

MADISON, WIS.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

U.S. Senate,

Washington, D.C.

SIR: I want to express my deep admiration for your refusal to support the congressional resolution backing President Johnson in the Far East.

In addition, I want you to know about my continuing agreement with you in your criticism of our Vietnam policies. The courage you have displayed in exposing the distortions, suppressions, exaggerations, and outright lies of the Kennedy-Johnson administration about this critical problem is not common.

Nothing is more fundamentally irresponsible in a democratic society than an attempt to restrict open debate and to move alternatives to accepted policies to the sidelines. The man who values our republican form of government must oppose any attempt to hand over crucial policymaking powers to a small body of men (or even to one man) under the pressure of military events. Whatever the advocates of executive efficiency and national unity may argue, we cannot afford to give up the effective right of meaningful discussion, debate, and democratic decision in this crisis involving war and peace. The stakes are too high, not only for our selves, but for the world.

JOHN WILEY.

TELEMLY, ALGERIA,

August 3, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

Senate Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I thought you might be interested in the enclosed clipping from the Algerian paper Le Peuple.

I am a student of economics at Columbia University and am passing the summer here. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

PETER S. FRANKLIN.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,

Senate Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have just written to President Johnson, I fully agree with you and the many other thoughtful Congressmen who are for negotiations to end and thereby prevent an escalation of the war in Vietnam.

This would avoid the needless loss of men, many of them Americans. The million and a half, the daily cost of the war, could be spent for food and medicine for the South Vietnamese people.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. RAE FRIEDNAM.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

Senate Office Building.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: I congratulate you on your courage and humanity in standing



alone in the Senate to condemn the administration's belligerency in Vietnam.

An accident of the calendar places this week's crisis close to the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, a fact that gives us all pause and for me lends added weight to your position.

Sincerely yours,

JULES RABIN.

NORTH MERRICK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The New York Times of today reports your dissent from the resolution with the rest of Congress. I agree wholeheartedly with you and your comment and compliment you on your courage to speak up—alone.

We made France give up the colonial war it fought against Indochina—and now we help another "stinker" to keep the people of Vietnam under his thumb. I agree with you that the incident which inspired the resolution is as much the doings of the United States as it is the doing of the North Vietnam and that our role has been that of a provocateur, every bit as much as North Vietnam has been a provocateur. Do we want another Guatemala? Is South Vietnam territory of the United States? Whose interest are we protecting in keeping the inhabitants of South Vietnam in barbed-wire enclosures? Do we have no brains and guts in Congress, the State Department, the Pentagon and the White House which can find the direction to a real peace—all nations included, Pacem in Terris as John the XXIII spoke of?

Most sincerely yours,

ELIZABETH GODEFROY.

MONTPELIER, Vt.,  
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your vote—and your courage—in opposing the Vietnam resolution.

C. V. PARKINSON,

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Re Vietnam.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Again I am writing to thank you for raising your voice in protest against recent American action in Vietnam.

What happened to Senator ERNEST GRUENING on this issue? And the other very few supporters of your stand?

Thank you again.

Yours truly,

Mrs. G. WRIGHT.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 8, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to congratulate you on your stand taken in regards to our dirty war in southeast Asia.

The slaughter of human beings there should be stopped before we will all be blown to bits.

Sincerely,

FRANK A. PELLEGRINO.

P.S.—Also I congratulate Senator GRUENING, of Alaska.

ST. LOUIS, MO.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Your blunt language concerning the U.S. actions in Vietnam makes me feel very good.

As I think I have indicated on other occasions, we have had only one other Senator I'd care to name in the same breath with WAYNE MORSE. That was George W. Norris.

It was seldom possible to disagree with Mr. Norris. And is equally difficult to disagree with your conclusions about our proper course as a nation.

This requires no reply. I wanted you to know that most of the people I know think that you make sense when you talk.

Very truly yours,

JOHN M. FISHELL.

AURORA, ILL.,  
August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have just read your article "Humpty Dumpty in Vietnam" in the Progressive magazine, and I found it very disturbing—so much so that I immediately wrote letters to my Senators and Congresswoman. What else can I do? What is being done now about this terrible issue?

Thank you.

Mrs. WALTER E. WEISS.

EL CERRITO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We admire, and would like to commend your courage, in voting against the resolution condemning North Vietnam and giving the President a mandate for bellicose behavior in southeast Asia.

In this bluster of wounded ego, and contrived incident, we as Americans are silent partners in the butchery of innocent people. We don't know what the precise facts are in this most recent episode in the Tonkin Gulf, but we do know that the American people are not being truthfully informed. We don't know anyone here, who fully accepts the official account of recent events. The past 10 years has revealed too many willful manipulations of information at the highest level. A dozen torpedo boats do not take on the whole U.S. Navy without extreme provocation.

Again thank you for your courage to stand up against the immense pressure to conform whenever the flag is run up on the Senate floor. We wish you were the Senator from California.

Yours respectfully,

JOSEPH and ROSEMARY TOBY.

CEDAR FALLS, IOWA,  
August 8, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to encourage you in your outspoken opposition to the nearly unanimous belief of official Washington that unilateral foreign policy is only wrong when practiced by other nations, and I sympathize with your inevitable loneliness in a crowd of men who do not even pay you the courtesy of listening, as if abstaining, pairing, and being "present" were responsible legislative behavior.

Sincerely,

JOHN LINDBERG.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR: Yours is one of the few sane voices in our mad, mad Capital. I admire your courage and integrity in the face of such odds and offer my help, if I can be of assistance.

M. ROBINSON.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,  
August 6 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my appreciation of your statement on the radio,

emphasizing your position that the United States should not continue the war in Asia. To go into these foreign countries where the rulers so often do not represent the welfare of the average person and begin a shooting war, seems very wrong to me and to millions of other American citizens.

I am grateful for your position and hope other Senators will join you in protesting our continued war in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

ETHEL COHEN.

NORTH CARVER, MASS.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It seems to me that there should be a truce called in the North Vietnam and South Vietnam fighting area. During this period interested people the world over should examine the situation.

It is possible that this method would lead to a peaceful world which we all would enjoy.

Yours truly,

FRANK H. COLE.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to congratulate you on your courageous opposition to the resolution passed by Congress, giving President Johnson a blank check to extend military action in southeast Asia, and so to imperil the peace of the world.

I have followed your position on the Vietnamese war as covered in the I. F. Stone Weekly, and I applaud your repeated recognition of our unjustifiable presence in Vietnam, and of the provocatory role U.S. forces have played there, as in the stationing of destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin.

My family joins me in this letter of congratulation on your position. We are grateful for your unceasing efforts to bring the truth on the issue of Vietnam to the attention of the American people. We know how unpopular your position is and we respect you for not having compromised on this critical resolution. It is encouraging to know that our Congress includes so dedicated and clearheaded a Member.

Very truly yours,

MISS JUDITH GOODMAN.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: I support you on your stand against U.S. participation in the Vietnam war. If only we had more like you in the Senate.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

CELIA TIEMAN.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: As one appreciative American mother, I am writing to express to you my thanks for your courage and honesty in speaking the truth about the Vietnam situation. This is not a new role for you since your entire service in the Senate has been devoted to the best interests of the American people. Your voice has been the only one of sanity and reality in a situation which seems to be frighteningly designed to plunge us into world war III.

Why must history repeat itself with alarming regularity, and why must the "ordinary American citizen" be relegated to the role of bystander while their leaders commit such outrageous actions? How can the United States justify its "support" of the United Nations while at the same time undertaking unilateral action in Vietnam? Am I to be pleased because President Johnson conferred with Senator GOLDWATER before he made his statement to the American people regarding



the attack which was already underway? Rather, I am appalled by what seems to be one bipartisan course, leading in one direction—war.

At this moment, I am in despair over what I could possibly do to restore some hope in my thinking, and which will restore my confidence in this kind of action on the part of my Government.

My father went to serve in the U.S. Army in World War I, my brother in World War II, and now I have a 16-year-old son—must he soon be sacrificed to the horrible nightmare of a possible world war III? With all my heart, I cry out—no.

Although I am not a resident of your State, we are neighbors, and I felt you should know how grateful I am for your presence in the Senate, for you are its conscience.

Best wishes to you for continued good health and strength to wage the battles which surely still lie ahead.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. SOL KIPNIS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Congress of United States,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It was indeed with gratification I read your statements printed in Los Angeles Times in regard to our part in the war going on in Vietnam, and this citizen fully concurs with your views that we have no business to meddle in Vietnam or anywhere else for that matter. It seems as if Uncle Sam has grown a long nose he sticks into everybody's business around the world, which is costing the American taxpayers billions. I, for one, am afraid if he does not stay at home and attend to his own knitting (there are many holes in his socks) he may some day find his nose cut off.

With much admiration, and with very best regards,

Most sincerely,

JOHN A. GILMONT,

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Hon. KENNETH B. KEATING,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR KEATING: I strongly oppose our present Vietnam policy and I am shocked at the recent actions taken by President Johnson. I strongly condemn these needless, reckless, wanton attacks on North Vietnam. President Johnson said that acts of aggression must be met with positive force and they were—our indiscriminate bombings of North and South Vietnamese and Cambodian hamlets were met by positive action.

President Johnson said that violations of the Geneva agreements must be ended—and I agree—North Vietnam, Red China, and South Vietnam and the United States must stop these violations. While we did not sign these agreements we did recognize them as law. And we are definitely in violation of them. Article 16 of the agreement reads as follows:

"With effect from the date of entry into force of the present agreements, the introduction into Vietnam of any troop reinforcements and additional military personnel is prohibited."

We have, at this moment, a minimum of 16,000 troops in Vietnam in clear violation of article 16. Article 17 read as follows:

"With effect from the date of entry into force of the present agreement, the introduction into Vietnam of any reinforcements in the form of all types of arms, munitions, and other war material, such as combat aircraft, naval aircraft, pieces of ordnance, jet engines, and jet weapons and armored vehicles, is prohibited."

Clearly our supplies of arms of the past years and our present military buildup are in violation of article 17. Just because we were not the first violators is no reason for us to follow suit.

President Johnson said that we will continue to defend the freedom of South Vietnam. But what freedom? South Vietnamese newspapers critical of their government are soon closed. U.S. Senators who criticize our actions are branded as traitors by the Vietnamese dictator. And since the Geneva agreements South Vietnam has had but one election and that one was a Russian-type of election with only one slate of candidates—to either take or leave.

We have been fighting unilaterally for no one else has been as foolish as we. Americans have been murdered and for no reason, for no purpose.

It is for these and other reasons that I must request you, Senator KEATING, to announce my position for the RECORD—It must be shown that at this time in history there is at least a small minority that believes that might is no necessity for right. That believes that the big nations cannot brand their aggressions as retaliations. That believes in a world of law not military might.

At this time the United States is the greatest threat to world peace and we are the aggressor whether or not one likes to hear it. Unfortunately it is true. We have violated the Geneva agreements. We have been supporting a military dictator. We have not used the machinery of the United Nations. We have sent 260 Americans to their deaths and have 10 times that waiting in the wings and all without a declaration of war. Congress has abdicated their responsibilities and has granted a blank check to a continuation of these illegal acts—for forever.

If, as seems too possible, the war is expanded and we face Communist China, there are two ways we may fight them:

We could fight as in Korea using conventional land, naval, and air forces. But even with our improved weapons and know-how we could never win. France fought in Indochina with 250,000 men, U.S. arms and U.S. money and against far less than the full might of China. Yet they were crushed. We have more money, more and better weapons, and more soldiers to waste in such a war but we lack the experience of fighting such a war. Neither the French then nor we now have the public support for such wars. Though we would do better than they, such tactics could never stop the waves and waves of humans who neither care for their meager existence nor for our "high" purpose. This human flood would destroy the heart of our youth and not only we today but succeeding generations would feel this loss. It is a sad fact that we are taking Americans away from their families and friends and sending them far away to die but to do so without good reasons is a disgrace and a sin.

"Blessed are the peacemakers" not the warmakers. Peace through mediation or peace through conciliation or peace through compromise never through war.

The other way to fight China would be to destroy them by using our already too large nuclear arsenal. We could destroy 400 million Chinese thousands of miles away more efficiently than a Hitler could ever have dreamed possible. And it could be done in a matter of hours. But such warfare would not have its dangers. For can we expect the Russians to do nothing while we obliterate their former friend and foul up the air they breathe? Can we expect our enemies, neutral nations, and even our allies to allow us to destroy a country even if we do not recognize that country? Can we expect not to harm ourselves and future generations from the fallout from such an attack?

Senator KEATING it is about time that we peel away the old myths and finally consider the new realities in Vietnam. It is about time that we not talk of "saving face" but of saving mankind.

Harry Truman once said that the "responsibility of the great states is to serve and not to dominate the world." After such actions ordered by President Johnson who can believe that we are serving and not dominating the world?

United Nations control of this area would not be an easy solution. There would still be many problems to face. But it would be a step in the right direction. It would be one of the thousand miles toward peace.

For these reasons I cannot and will not accept the needless and senseless position we have taken toward Vietnam and must request that this position be stated.

Senator KEATING, I urge you to reconsider your views.

Without a declaration of war I cannot see how Congress can "approve and support" all action taken by the President. Such a declaration may be constitutional but it can never be moral. I urge a complete reexamination and reconsideration of our Asian policies from all branches of the Federal Government.

We have the choice to either continue an unsuccessful and dangerous policy which has no possible chance of success but which may well lead to the final conflagration or we can return to a world of law. A world where the mighty are strong in the pursuit of justice and weak in the quest of expediency.

The choice is ours.

NEIL M. HORWITZ.

#### THE U.N. AND VIETNAM

We do not share Senator MORSE's view that the air strike ordered by President Johnson against North Vietnam was an outcome of a State Department-Pentagon plan to escalate the war.

The world has had too much experience with Communist expansionism masquerading as just wars of liberation to shrug off as inconsequential PT boat attacks against U.S. naval vessels on the high seas. Even non-belligerent countries like India no longer dispute the larger Chinese design to subjugate southeast Asia, of which the attacks were a part.

President Johnson's reply to those provocations, while emphatic, has been restrained. As Ambassador Stevenson said in the Security Council:

"I want to emphasize that the action we have taken is a limited and measured response fitted precisely to the attack that produced it and that the deployment of additional U.S. forces to southeast Asia is designed solely to deter further aggression."

There is, moreover, another point which advocates (like Senator MORSE) of a negotiated, U.N. solution must bear in mind. The Communists respect power alone. If that point needed further proof in the postwar period, the Cuban missile crisis provided it.

That showdown marked the turning point in our relations with Premier Khrushchev. Unfortunately Peiping did not get the message. It taunted Khrushchev for backing down before a "paper tiger."

A negotiated solution in Indochina, as distinct from a negotiated surrender, may only become possible when the Chinese are persuaded the United States will not permit them to take over southeast Asia.

Yet Senator MORSE has a point when he insists the rights and wrongs in Indochina are not all black and white.

If we consider a Chinese takeover in South Vietnam, which is 8,000 miles away from our shores, as a threat to our security and interests, it should be possible for us to appreciate that the Chinese would consider a U.S. military presence next door in Indochina as a threat to them.



Indochina constitutes a power vacuum which is sucking in both sides partly out of fear and partly out of ambition. The pattern is not novel. Other power vacuums—in the Middle East and Africa—have produced dangerous confrontations between the great powers.

In the end the solution in those areas that proved to be most compatible with the distribution of power and the safety of the world was for East and West to move out militarily and the U.N. to move in.

Ambassador Stevenson's speech to the Security Council reaffirmed this to be the objective of U.S. policy in Indochina.

The people of Indochina want to be "left alone," Mr. Stevenson emphasized. When their Communist neighbors "decide to leave them alone," he added, and that decision "can be put in enforcement terms," the United States will be prepared to withdraw its military power.

Ambassador Stevenson made this offer once before, during the Cambodian debate last spring in the Security Council. At that time Hanoi and Peiping, tempted by hopes of a military victory, ignored the proposal.

Now that the United States is demonstrating that it will not be driven from southeast Asia, the Communists may be more inclined to discuss a U.N.-guaranteed military neutralization formula.

The congressional resolution backing up the President manifests the united determination of this country to stand firm in southeast Asia. It also envisages a live-and-let-live settlement.

As proposed by the President, the resolution will expire when "the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the U.N. or otherwise \* \* \*"

The choice is up to Peiping and Hanoi.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: To you goes the sincere gratitude for being the only statesman (except for Senator GRUENING) in the whole country. Bless you for your moderate, sane approach to the war we are conducting in South Vietnam and now the push toward the north. Your name will go down in history as the "savior of our country."

Sincerely yours,

MILDRED C. CORBEN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: We bless you for your courageous stand on Vietnam. We are 100 percent in accord with you and will do our utmost to help. More power to you. May your efforts bear fruit for peace and humanity.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. ANNA L. HALPRIN.

[From the El Cajon, (Calif.) Valley News,  
Aug. 6, 1964]

NO ONE WAS DYING—WHY THE HASTE?

The whole world is chewing its fingernails and passing judgment on what has been happening during the last 48 hours in the Gulf of Tonkin.

The facts seem to be plain enough. A lone U.S. destroyer was cruising in the Gulf or Tonkin, last Sunday, about 30 miles off the coast of North Vietnam. Three PT boats approached at high speed and two were seen to fire torpedoes.

Our destroyer dodged the torpedoes, fired upon the PT boats, and apparently sank one.

Next day, two of our destroyers were cruising in the same area, but about 65 miles

offshore. This time some six PT boats attacked. In retaliation, we flew 64 air attack missions off 2 aircraft carriers, destroyed or damaged about 25 North Vietnam PT boats, blew up an oil depot and wrecked other facilities at 4 different bases, along the coast. We lost at least two aircraft, including the pilots.

This ratio of retaliation to provocation is weighted in our favor considerably more than the old Moslem formula of an eye for an eye provides. The initial public reaction, however, seems to be that somebody had it coming.

President Johnson, having himself ordered the retaliation, didn't have any choice but to tell the country it was thoroughly justified. He assured his countrymen "the attacks were unprovoked" and invited "the scrutiny of all men who seek peace, for peace is the only purpose of the course we pursue."

In the United Nations, U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson branded the PT boat attacks as "deliberate military aggression against vessels lawfully present in international waters."

These are comforting words from men in whom the Nation has every right to impose confidence.

But life is not as simple these days as in the days when buffalo roamed the plains and ships were moved by sail. In those happy bygone days we did not have "invisible governments" like the CIA—and who knows what other hidden forces—at work within our own or other nations.

It is not that any of our responsible national leaders would deliberately deceive the American people. But do they always know the whole truth themselves?

Some can remember when President Eisenhower was embarrassed by having to deny that he knew about the U-2 flights over Russia in 1960. More can remember when Ambassador Stevenson was embarrassed by having to deny in the U.N. that we had any part in the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

And only in the last few months has it come to light that the CIA had given secret instructions to raiders about how to go ahead with the Cuban invasion even if President Kennedy tried to call them back.

Such evidence of skulduggery in high places proves nothing, of course, about the Gulf of Tonkin episode. But such evidence does serve to remind that these are times when the facts are not always easy to obtain, particularly while the smell of gunpowder is still in the air.

Not even a President can be sure. After all, the reports he sees travel through many hands. And they all started in a little known body of water half way around the world, with no newspaper correspondents, TV cameras, or other disinterested observers on hand to watch.

A feeling of vague uneasiness about this Gulf of Tonkin incident already has been expressed in some significant places. Senator RICHARD RUSSELL, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, pointed out to reporters that "there have been naval operations in the Gulf of Tonkin by South Vietnamese, and this could have confused the North Vietnamese."

In Saigon, some South Vietnamese officials privately have voiced skepticism about the U.S. version of the incident. News dispatches quote one official as saying with a laugh:

"That is a very unusual guerrilla action for three small ships to attack an American destroyer in broad daylight, isn't it?"

These same officials questioned why PT-type boats would make such a suicidal attack without provocation. What motivation could the Communists have had in ordering so isolated an incident?

Time will bring out the whole story. President Johnson must make sure that it does. And he should use "all deliberate

speed." This is no time for playing guessing games or for bear-trapping a chief executive with doctored incidents.

Until the facts have stood the test of time, a disturbing mist of doubt will hang over this Gulf of Tonkin affair. It sounds almost too dramatic, as if it were staged. And our retaliation was a little too quick, as if someone were afraid the whole show might be called off unless it were put on the road at once.

What was our hurry, anyhow? Neither of those PT "attacks" did any damage or caused any casualties on our destroyers. And that oil depot or those PT boats weren't going anywhere. We could have clobbered them just as successfully any day next week, after making sure we really were being pushed around.

But we had to shoot first. Okay, now let's ask questions. And let's have some straight answers from eyewitnesses protected against intimidation.

STANFORD, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have just finished reading your article in the August issue of the Progressive magazine. I can't impress upon you the relief I feel in knowing that someone in our Government knows that what we are doing in Vietnam is wrong. I should have written before to tell you of my and others support, but I lacked initiative. I think it was the recent speech by President Johnson that got me worried enough to write.

Please accept my support and the support of the whole CNVA-West. (Committee for Non-Violent Action.)

KATY FESTINGER.

OXFORD, ENGLAND,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your sane words on Vietnam. It is men like you who prevent us in Europe from despairing completely of the United States. I'm afraid you are not getting much help from the British Government, but it is some years since that was representative of the British people.

Yours sincerely,

PHILIP STEWART.

WOODMERE, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I congratulate you on the political courage you have shown in regard to Vietnam, and thank you for your efforts to stem the hysterical reaction to the reported attack on the *Maddox*. Such an attack would be so stupid and so out of line with the apparent policies of North Vietnam and China that it seems to me incredible that it happened as reported without some overt aggressive action on the part of the ship. In any case, such matters should be laid before the United Nations rather than settled by military response. If you have any information on what really did happen, I hope you will spread it abroad in the interest of peace in the world.

I believe our military, and particularly our CIA, should not be in Vietnam, and that their presence there will sooner or later bring on such incidents that may lead to expanding war.

As to the "blank check" for the President, however, I am not sure that I would agree with what I understand to have been your stand on the matter. I remember that Congress took some such action with Mr. Eisenhower during a crisis in the Middle East, and again in the Formosan Straits and in each case, armed with this power, he was able to ease tensions and avoid military action. I suspect that Mr. Johnson is especially eager



to avoid increasing military action in Vietnam but feels politically pressured to avoid anything which could be called appeasement. It might well be, although I have little political savoir faire, that a resolution such as proposed would give him greater room for maneuvering around war than for the present, rather belligerently minded Congress to refuse him this power.

Anyway, thank you for your efforts, which I hope you will continue.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES T. JACKSON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

All honor to Senators Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening for voting against the joint congressional resolution that, in effect, endorses our Government's past, and continuing, massive intervention in southeast Asia.

No matter what the facts of this latest crisis turn out to be—and as of now they are clouded—the record of the past decade uncontroversially discloses that our Government, under both parties, has systematically ignored the international agreements which it claims to be upholding. I predict that in the future our Government's intervention in southeast Asia will be recognized as one of our Nation's darkest hours.

And I further predict that the names of Senator Morse and Senator Gruening will emerge then as representing the voice of sanity, good faith, and reason which is, we all hope, the true voice of our nation.

HELEN MEARS.

NEW YORK CITY, August 8, 1964.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: May I commend you on your stand concerning American intervention in South Vietnam? I am in complete agreement with you.

I think the money we've thrown away in southeast Asia is deplorable.

It's inconceivable to me that only two Senators would not vote for this warlike measure.

Sincerely,

Mrs. NANCY J. FABING.

CAPITOLA, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator, U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It is not pleasant to think that yours is the only voice. We are with you—to the last man?

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. WM. WEINTRAUB.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

DEAR SENATOR: The affair in Vietnam stinks just like the *Maine* in Havana in 1898. I was in Galveston at that time. The rumor was the big brass in Washington did the dirty work. Whoever made the commitments in Asia should have been indicted. Tell your gang what George Washington said in his farewell speech, "Keep your nose out of other people's business." It makes my blood boil when I read Johnson is sending more boys over there to protect a bunch of royal bandits and get killed. I don't know what is the matter with you fellows. Billions for foreign relief and peanuts for Alaska and that 5 percent for our old people. You know what you can do with that. I am 85 and still interested in our national affairs. Oregon can be proud of you.

My best wishes to you.

A. SIBIESKY.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SIR: I have listened to your views on South Vietnam that you have aired on such programs as "Face the Nation" and "Issues

and Answers." I admire the political courage you have shown in defying both the Johnson administration and the Republican Party on this crucial matter. I am sure you are aware as I am that the major factor influencing international relations is power and not morality or law. The freedom of the South Vietnamese people should not be negotiable. Neutralization of South Vietnam is not practical as long as North Vietnam is communistic.

However I agree with you that the United States alone cannot, and should not be forced, to maintain South Vietnam's security against Communist aggression. Using the United Nations to solve this problem would definitely put the United States on the side of morality and international law. Communist China and North Vietnam would be greatly influenced by a resolution condemning their aggression in South Vietnam.

But condemnation is not enough.

I praise you for advocating a solution for Vietnam within the province of international law.

But will the African and Asian nations in the General Assembly really uphold the charter and vote to condemn North Vietnam and China? Will the General Assembly provide 25,000 to 100,000 ground troops to patrol borders between South Vietnam and Laos, South Vietnam and Cambodia, and between South Vietnam and North Vietnam, in order that the infiltration of Communist guerrillas and supplies be halted?

Please reply.

Respectfully,

LEE ROSEN.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

HON. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: It was with great pleasure to hear that you had the courage to express your opinion about our stand in Vietnam, which is contrary to our official interpretation of the latest developments in that troubled area.

Let us hope that your voice will not be a "Call in the wilderness." May your voice find more similar voices and bring about a better understanding, among nations, and bring peace in that part in the world.

With respect to you, and to all those who join you for a better world for a real peace.

N. STEIN.

SEBASTOPOL, CALIF.

FALLS VILLAGE, CONN.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Complete approval for your objective and long-view stand on our foreign policy and Vietnam in particular. Heaven save us from power without empathy—it is such an easy stance. Your courage is not lost amid all the emotional chauvinism.

Sincerely,

MARION W. FERGUSON.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please accept my sincere congratulations for your courage and forthright statement today regarding the Vietnam crisis. I have written to the President asking him to discontinue further military action in North Vietnam and to withdraw our forces in South Vietnam. The seriousness of our mistaken involvement in Vietnam has been revealed and I hope other Senators will join you to lend a restraining hand on those who would push the panic extermination button.

Sincerely,

ROBERT FRIEDMAN.

SKOKIE, ILL.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I completely support your stand on the President's resolution supporting our aggression in Vietnam. Once again, our Congress rose "above principle" when it passed this resolution. This is not the first time I have noted your courage, conviction, sanity, and strict adherence to the principle that there shall not be two sets of laws (one for us and one for them). You are truly a Senator we can be proud of. You are one who I think really believes in the ideal of equality before the law, both in domestic and international law. You are one who, I think, is truly a liberal, in the best sense of the word. I am ashamed to think that my country invaded North Vietnam. I am ashamed to think that we have supported three governments in South Vietnam which were all military dictatorships. I am ashamed to think that the Government which we now support in Vietnam has taken away the right of appeal and given military courts the absolute power of death. I am ashamed to think that the Government we support in Vietnam is now censoring all newspapers, books, television, and radio. We cannot say "my country, right or wrong." There comes a point where you must, as you have done, denounce your country as an "outlaw."

I also wish to ask you to support the seating of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic Convention and strong planks on civil liberties, civil rights, extremism, and the Presidential control of nuclear weapons. For Vice President, my own personal choice is Adlai Stevenson, but even before he was eliminated, I felt that for the good of the party he should not be the nominee. I feel that a Catholic should definitely be the nominee both to keep as much of the Catholic vote in the party as possible and to remove the religious issue from the campaign (both parties will have a Catholic Veep). I oppose Senators DODD or RIBICOFF for Vice President because DODD I disagree with on many issues, and while I'm a Jew myself, I feel that RIBICOFF could seriously damage our chances. MCCARTHY seems to me to be the best prospect. Personally, I doubt whether the elimination of Bob Kennedy will hurt the ticket as the people who supported him have nowhere else to go.

I hope that despite our disagreement with President Johnson that you work hard for the ticket this year as it would be a disaster if BARRY GOLDWATER got in the White House.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely yours,

BERNARD J. FARBER.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your vote against our participation in the Vietnam war.

Millions of your fellow citizens are in agreement with you.

Continue your fight against our aggression in the affairs of foreign states. Thank you once again.

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH and SADYE ROBIN.  
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

CORAL GABLES, FLA.,  
August 5, 1964.

Hon. Senator MORSE.

SIR: I wish to congratulate you on your stand on Mr. Johnson's stand on Vietnam. The President has no right to order: "Shoot to kill." This is war. Congress alone can declare war and there is no reason why he should declare an emergency situation, and



should not be given free action. Cuba is closer to us than Vietnam.

Mr. Johnson has assumed too much already since he has been in office, without elections. He has used and abused the Congress far beyond his powers. The Congress should keep its rights and power. We've been told: "All is good for long, long time in Vietnam."

Respectfully,

V. B. SMITH.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I extend to you my deepest and most sincere appreciation for your courageous stand on the Vietnam situation. It seems to me that yours is the only sane voice being heard on this issue and we hope you will continue to be, as always you have been, "the conscience of the Senate."

Thank you for your honesty and courage.  
Sincerely yours,

Mr. LEO RIRSMAN.

EAST ORANGE, N.J.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to tell you that I agree with you and the Senator from Alaska on the Vietnam action.

President Johnson's action was outrageous and if it doesn't get us in world war III it will be a miracle.

I thank you for voting against the resolution. It is too bad, in fact a tragedy, that the resolution passed.

I believe that if a referendum were taken, the action of President Johnson would be overwhelmingly condemned.

If we get through this trouble without a war, I think the Senate and House should pass a bill taking away the right of any President to order such an action as Johnson did.

Why didn't he ask Congress first?

Why didn't he take it to the U.N. first?

And why was he so melodramatic as to address the Nation on TV at 11:40 at night? I heard it and of course, could not get to sleep.

I don't care what happens to Vietnam. It can go Communist or anything else. I don't want any more of our young men killed in defense of that peacetime country that is none of our business and means nothing to us.

I am mad.

Very truly,

Mrs. M. D. CLAUDER.

OLD CHELSEA STATION,  
NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In these days of hypocrisy and arrogance, it is inspiring to hear honest and clear-cut statements from you and from Senator FULBRIGHT on our grotesque foreign policy. This foreign policy of ours ponderously announces that "under God" we are a self-appointed world policeman.

More strength and honor to you, because you and all who agree with you, are making history, leading toward disarmament and mutually beneficial world cooperation.

Cordially,

MARION D. MUNSELL.  
ALEX E. O. MUNSELL.

Copy of a nightletter sent to President Lyndon Johnson, The White House, Washington, D.C., August 6-7, 1964.

"Our retaliatory action against North Vietnam is bullying, indicating moral weakness. Further involvement risks world annihilation.

We strongly urge complete neutralization

and withdrawal of all foreign troops from southeast Asia.

(S) Mr. and Mrs. ALEX MUNSELL.  
NEW YORK, N.Y.

ARCATA, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just want to add my voice of approval for your stand against giving the President the right to wage war without a declaration by Congress.

I have been totally against our participation in southeast Asia from the beginning. It looks like another Korea.

I believe time is on our side. Let them try Communist dictation for 25 years and then they'll be sick of it and throw it off. We should be prepared to aid India and Australia, the Philippines, etc.

Sincerely,

Mrs. IVAN MILHOUS.

FORKS, WASH.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: We want to congratulate you on your courageous stand on the Vietnam problem, and your stand on the past events. We need more men of your type, believe me. We are behind you 100 percent. The best to you.

Mr. and Mrs. AUGUST SLATHOR.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I personally would like to shake your hand. I thank God that there are those who still think of others. As in Isaiah 33: 7, "Behold, their valiant ones shall cry without, the ambassadors of peace shall weep bitterly." I pray that God will bless you as you stand fast for a peaceful world. I give you my support and prayers.

Let us remember that "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

And what the President done was wrong in Vietnam. We should pull out.

"And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths; for out of you shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among the nations and shall rebuke many people and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up swords against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Isaiah 2: 3-4.

"Behold, their valiant ones shall cry without, the ambassadors of peace shall weep bitterly."—Isaiah 33: 7.

"For when they shall say peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape."

And our only hope is Jesus. "Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the most high, thy habitation; there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling."—Psalm 91: 9, 10.

I pray for a lasting peace which the world cannot give. But with Christ, all things are possible.

A friend,

Mrs. REBECCA MAY BECKMAN.

P.S.—Please write. Thank you.

DENVER, COLO.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to thank you for your remarks on the southeast Asia situ-

ation on the Senate floor as well as in the article "Humpty-Dumpty in Vietnam" which appears in the current issue of the Progressive. I wish to add that there are those of us who do make our voices heard about the follies of the U.S. imperialism in southeast Asia. However, compared to the larger and more important number (including our Government) who scream that we're fighting for "freedom," our sound is so soft, no one seems to hear it. Our Government does such an excellent job of propagandizing, the American people, or the vast majority, in their naive way, really believe that next to communism, you and those who think as you do about our foreign policy are their biggest enemy. So, I wonder sometimes if it's worth the effort to make our voices heard, especially in an election year when a presidential nominee who has everyone's ear is one who advocates the use of nuclear weapons to preserve the southeast Asian's freedom, whatever that is. It is obvious that most Americans feel to wield a strong arm abroad, to stand up and fight in the face of "Communist aggression" compensates for the lack of our ability to solve, or even recognize, the domestic problems that threaten to "bury" us much more than communism.

It does help to see an occasional article such as yours appear. My only wish is that it had greater circulation. I often wonder where the voices of CLARK, HUMPHREY, McCARTHY, and others whose work I admire so much usually, are in these instances. Maybe they're being sounded and I just don't hear. I do hope that your article will be circulated among your colleagues so that they may have the benefit of reading it.

Do keep speaking, for there are certainly those who agree with you whose voices are rarely heard above the din of the militarists.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. KATHERINE ARMITAGE.

PITTSBURGH, PA.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My thanks and congratulations to you in this your finest hour. May history record your courageous stand against the lawlessness of our Government long after the names of your fellow Senators have been forgotten in deserved ignominy.

Sincerely yours,

LINCOLN WOLFENSTEIN.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I congratulate you on your stand on Vietnam.

I wish we would have more men of your caliber in our Government.

Sincerely yours,

LUCILLE BOKSER.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I commend and thank you for speaking and voting against the resolution granting the President increased military power in southeast Asia.

Our troops should be recalled from that area and negotiations should be started immediately for a peaceful solution of the problem.

Respectfully yours,

MINERVA T. FEENSTEIN.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your principled stand on the outrageous aggression endangering the peace of the entire



world. In the last 50 years of my adult life I have seen a tragic deterioration in American life. Where in my youth when I was an undergraduate at Harvard, we were really proud of the motto "Veritas," there has now been substituted a cynical sophistication so that hypocrisy is no longer a disresponsible adjunct to life but has become a way of life. Joined to this is the arrogance which permits President Johnson to refer to aggression and provocation as a defense of "peace." It is time for the young people to learn about the Pax Americana what Josephus said of the Pax Romana "Vastatem Faciunt Pacem Apellant."

Let me assure you that there is a large reservoir of people who have not fallen victim to the conformity of flag waving chauvinism and contempt for the rest of the peoples of the world who will applaud heartily the stand taken by you and Senator GRUENING (and I hope others not yet named in the news) in refusing to issue what you have properly designated as a predated declaration of war (and it may be added, terror). It is good for old people like myself but even more for the young that there are men of stature in American public life and legislative halls who will not permit themselves to be intimidated by the false cry of "patriotism" which Dr. Johnson so fittingly designated.

That this is the first surrender of the administration to the Goldwater mentality and hysteria is clear to the world press, and increasingly to the people of these United States. The courage of men like Senator GRUENING and yourself will be an inspiration to the people not to permit the victory of the Neanderthal mentality which toys with the destiny of the people of the entire planet.

I personally desire to express my gratitude and appreciation and to ask others to do so. If you have any suggestion of any manner in which plain ordinary people like myself can be of service in stemming the hysterical tide, please suggest what may be helpful.

Cordially,

ADOLPHUS BROOK.

NULL VALLEY, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your stand on southeast Asia. It must be lonely in Washington among all of the sheep. If there is enough time before the end to write it, I am glad that history can record one man in the U.S. Senate with a mind of his own and the courage to speak it.

Best regards and wishes.

DON MIXON,  
Mrs. DONALD MIXON.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your stand against U.S. involvement in southeast Asia.

I am certain that the American people are basically for international understanding and world peace and will eventually find a way to put these wonderful ideals into practice.

Sincerely,

Mrs. KAE BROWN.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

BELLE GLADE, FLA.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: While I would have difficulty in naming another Senator with whom I more disagreed with as to public affairs than yourself, I must concede that you have my wholehearted support in your opposition to this Nation becoming involved in military participation on the mainland of Asia,

and further participation in foreign aid. As to Asia and the so-called threat stemming from Red China, let us face it. Not having the transport to move men and supplies overseas, nor the Navy to provide protection thereof, any speculation of China's threat to offshore islands becomes an insult to anyone's intelligence. Thus the only threat Red China offers ourselves is that to wage war against us, we would have to accommodate her by going to her area, in her own backyard, so to speak, which we did in Korea and now seek to do the very same thing as to South Vietnam and southeast Asia.

Now in our national interest there is no return benefit to us for the aid we have squandered in both Asia and Africa. Militarily their only resource is manpower, which is not needed in today's streamlined modern military. Commerce we do not need to buy from them near so much as they need to sell to us, so there can be no justification for our expense in their behalf. Insofar as communism is concerned, excepting Europe—the Pacific offshore islands—Western Hemisphere, I suggest that any country wanting communism, let them have it, and as time goes on their experience from it will be cause for its ultimate rejection, etc. I gave full approval to the Marshall plan to rebuild devastated war countries and make it possible for them to be a customer of our manufacture and agriculture, but the job in this respect was completed about 1949 and foreign aid should have ceased at that point. We could have continued some foreign aid from a military standpoint, but only to those countries named in the group above and from whom we had a commitment to stand with us when called upon.

This South Vietnam bids fair to become another Korea, so let us take a look at Korea. No one on the scene, or away from there, other than certain members of the Washington authorities, ever knew what the objective was that was had by our forces. Certainly the restrainer put on MacArthur, and other field commanders, there was not the goal of winning. Was it then merely to support a politician's argument with other politicians? Hardly anybody would buy the glib statement that we needed to go 10,000 miles away from in order to defend our shores, or that in present year we need to go about the same distance, also away from, to resist communism, and yet never took care of communism no more than 90 miles off our east shores. Before we go anywhere we need an all-out effort to cure the situation as to communism inside our own country, which there is practically no effort on the part of the authorities to do. In fact through the Supreme Court, and acquiescence of Congress through their failure to counteract, communism in this country enjoys a privileged sanctuary. In Korea we paid a tremendous price in loss of men and treasure, but as we wound up exactly where we commenced, there was not only loss in vain, but if we are to accomplish the objective sought, whatever that was, then the job needs doing all over again. This cannot be disputed, can it?

As we didn't win in Korea, and precluded from doing so, and our losses unnecessary, is it possible for us to win in southeast Asia, also 10,000 plus miles away? I say not. First place our boys would be hemmed in from all side as you couldn't distinguish friend from foe, nor count on it. If we won the battles militarily we would still lose the war, for we would have to maintain police occupation forces forever and forever, plus rebuild the country out of our finances. There is but one solution as to the mainland of Asia and that is to vacate our forces and wash our hands of the whole mess. We have the Navy and the Airforce to protect any and all lands east of the Asiatic mainland, and can do so most effectively, and with but little

outlay. Any forces beyond our own shores can be used to protect the Western Hemisphere in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, and the other areas already enumerated upon.

I attach a news item taken from the Miami Herald (a Knight publication), in which you are quoted as predicting BARRY GOLDWATER will not take more than six States. Now I am a lifelong South Democrat where during my lifetime but one party was had, though the Republicans in last few years are becoming a factor, but only nationally and not as to State and local. I have lived in, or spent considerable time therein of each and every State of the South plus those termed "border" though actually south so I can be considered typical of these States and its people, and knowledgeable. In those States of 11 Old Confederacy plus Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, Oklahoma, West Virginia—total 16, I make the assured prediction that BARRY GOLDWATER will capture each and every one of the total 16, excepting West Virginia, which is a welfare and unemployment State and welcoming the handout. Of the remaining 15 even Nixon in 1960 carried all excepting Missouri, Maryland, Arkansas, Texas, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and he had only about 30 percent the appeal as is had by GOLDWATER. This time GOLDWATER will not only take all taken by Nixon but the seven not taken by Nixon. If you challenge Arkansas I say in 1960 the Kennedy-Johnson ticket only captured 50.2 percent of total vote, and Louisiana it was but 50.4 percent, in Texas it was but 50.5 percent and much has happened in the 4 subsequent years to reduce each State's Democrat vote much below 50 percent. In Maryland the combination of Republican and Wallace votes should easily put that State in the GOLDWATER column. Having lived 3 years in Kansas City and knowing that State very well politically I am confident she too will be found in the Republican column. I came to my present area from Texas (Fort Worth-Houston) where I had some 18 years' residence and I doubt if anyone knows the State any better than I do, and I'll place my bet there on GOLDWATER over Lyndon Johnson, and I'd do Billie Sol Estes, Bobby Baker, George Parr, or the same if GOLDWATER was running against any of the other Johnson clique. One thing you can rest assured of and that is that BARRY GOLDWATER will take each and every State through the South, and no mistake about it.

Of course, there are other States GOLDWATER will take as well. He will take the total States taken by Nixon in 1960, also Illinois, Delaware, the neighboring Western States of New Mexico, Nevada, and others previously taken by Kennedy-Johnson in 1960. Frankly, I anticipate a GOLDWATER landslide come November 3, and will be the most surprised man in the country if this does not occur. So when you say GOLDWATER will take no more than six States, you have the wrong candidate in mind, and should make your statement concerning Johnson, or whoever might be substituted in his stead, etc. Our people, South as well as throughout the country, are disenchanting with incumbent administration, and are thoroughly dissatisfied with Government as administered from Washington. Most of our dissatisfaction stems from Federal judiciary abuse of the National Constitution, and Congress failure to reverse and restrict their actions. Members of Congress are not correctly representing their constituents unless they provide remedial legislation. For my part I want a constitutional amendment providing for election of Justices and all Federal judiciary both geographically and prescribing eligible qualifications of candidates and election for terms similar to Senators. To say there is no desire to put the judiciary



into politics that is all it is today, members appointed as reward for support or favors received, etc. If we are to get relief it has to come from GOLDWATER for none could be had from a character such as Lyndon B. Johnson. Of course, the country can retire as many of present Members of Congress as they can get it, which will be considerable.

Now when Congress recently enacted the so-called civil rights legislation, they went beyond the place of no return. In the South no one in his right mind is going to give adherence and compliance to this measure, though it may seem so at first glance but not when things straighten out and countermeasures get underway. In the first place if the nigger was mistreated in the South they would not remain here and a long time ago would have departed. Inasmuch as they are dependent 90 percent on white private enterprise, 5 percent on their own kind, 5 percent on Government for livelihood employment, they will very soon be denied both employment and welfare to hasten them into areas outside the South, where the news media and politicians have created all this turmoil and agitated the niggers in their intrusion on whites. I am for the nigger having his constitutional rights so long as it does not provide his unwanted intrusion upon white people. In other words he can enjoy his rights in the company of his own kind and not where he is unwanted by others. If there has not been white-nigger association in this country since its very beginning, it is clear that such association is not desired. Yet there is had the proposition of the officeholder saying "Whether such association is desired or not I propose to create it," like it or not. Is this politician saying "I am your master and not your servant"? We'll see about that.

Yours,

JOHN E. PRITCHETT,

#### MORSE PREDICTS GOLDWATER'S DEFEAT

(By Edwin A. Lahey)

WASHINGTON.—A prediction that Senator BARRY M. GOLDWATER would be defeated went out over the airwaves from a regular Sunday broadcast of Senator KENNETH B. KEATING, of New York.

KEATING is a Republican, seeking reelection this year for a second term. He is unfriendly to the Republican nominee for President, Senator GOLDWATER.

The prediction of defeat came from KEATING's guest on his regular program, Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon, who entered politics as a Republican, but switched to the Democratic Party during the 1952 election campaign, because he didn't like Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In the Keating program, which is carried over 6 television stations and 28 radio stations in New York, the New York Senator was questioning Senator MORSE on public issues, as is his custom with his weekly guests.

"I want to ask you a couple of political questions," KEATING told MORSE. "First, who's going to get the vice-presidential nomination on the Democratic ticket?"

"I don't think even the President knows yet," MORSE answered.

"Secondly, how's this election going to come out?"

"I'll be surprised if BARRY GOLDWATER carries more than six States," MORSE told KEATING. "The American people aren't going to be fooled by the extremism of BARRY GOLDWATER."

This partisan statement was not a slip of the tongue. The interview was taped in the U.S. Capitol recording studio, and the text was distributed to the offices of correspondents as early as Friday, with the notation that it could not be released until after the Sunday broadcast.

#### GOLDWATER LEADS IN SOUTH

(By George Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion)

PRINCETON, N.J.—Senator BARRY GOLDWATER leads President Johnson by a wide margin in the popular vote of the South at this time.

In a survey just completed of the 13-State area which makes up the South, GOLDWATER leads Johnson by a ratio of 57 percent to 43 percent.

This comes within 2 percentage points of the lead that GOLDWATER had over Kennedy in a trial heat race exactly 1 year ago in this section of the country.

At that time it was pointed out that this was the largest margin which any Republican had obtained over a Democratic opponent in the 29-year history of the Gallup poll in the South.

The following question was asked in the latest survey:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If BARRY GOLDWATER, the Republican candidate, runs against Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?" (Those who said they were undecided were asked which man they lean to, as of today.)

The present figures, based on interviewing conducted after the GOP convention, shows the following division of opinion in the South:

	Percent
GOLDWATER.....	51
Johnson.....	40
Undecided.....	9

Allocating the undecided vote on the basis of careful analysis of opinions on other key aspects of the race produces the following division of opinion:

	Percent
GOLDWATER.....	57
Johnson.....	43

JAMAICA, N.Y.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I should like to thank you for your lone voice of reason and sanity amidst confusion and blind acceptance. Last March you expressed very well your position on Vietnam, at that time a few of your colleagues joined you by expressing similar opinions.

Today we see once again the failure of the present American policy in South Vietnam. A crisis has helped to unite most of the Senate in supporting our present policies. I thank God that you have not joined your fellow Senators. At least there is still one glimmer of hope in the darkness. You have not yielded to the belligerent policy wanted by the "superpatriots." You have shown a keen understanding of the situation and have spoken accordingly.

You are right in saying we had no business being in South Vietnam, but this is history already. You are right in saying we must get out. The present South Vietnamese Government is not supported by the people of South Vietnam. It is a cruel, militaristic, and a dictatorial regime. The Vietnamese people have suffered enough.

They suffered a Japanese invasion and a World War II on their own soil. They suffered through a war with France. They have suffered through the Diem regime. They have suffered and are being terrorized by the Communist Vietcong. They have suffered, had their food poisoned and their people killed by the Vietcong. But the American-supported South Vietnamese Government has been just as bad as the Vietcong guerrillas. They live in a reign of sickness, death, fear, and terror. I am ashamed that my Government supports and keeps alive such a regime.

The Vietnamese people are tired of war. They want to return to their families and their crops—a return to peace.

The uncalled for North Vietnamese attack on our ships is a disgrace but our retaliatory measures are just as bad. This was not a peaceful move. It invites another Korea. It invites a world war III where we would all be killed. Our action was a disgrace. We show fault in the U.N. by treating U Thant well on his recent state visit by paying our finances. When it comes to the real test we pursue a militaristic policy which can destroy the U.N.

Yesterday 19 years ago we unleashed an atomic bomb. It must never be used. The present situation invites its use.

I urge you to support a neutralized Vietnam, either as one or two states. I urge you to continue your fight for an end to the war in Vietnam. Too many are being killed, there can be no victory for anyone.

In 1956 the Russians committed aggression in Hungary. In 1964 we are doing it in Vietnam. Will the suicidal arms race never stop?

Keep up your good work and may you have peace in your life and all mankind in the world.

Sincerely yours,

ALVIN VERTER.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I deplore the retaliatory and provocative stance this administration takes in southeast Asia.

We must learn to avoid such precipitous action—to try nonviolent methods—to use the U.N. more fully than ever before.

The President's unilateral striking back without deliberation seems like "warmongering" to me. Makes me lose faith in him. (Johnson is not much different from GOLDWATER—after all—et cetera.)

Moreover, this "power politics" with superior arms is an old method that yields nothing but a vicious cycle doomed to a chaotic outcome.

How can an administration with such humanitarian goals as to effect civil rights and antipoverty be so inhumane as to "shoot to kill."

We have no problems but what cannot be negotiated, etc. And if we need better machinery for that, let's get it.

Sincerely,

OLIVER HENDERSON, M.D.,  
Psychiatrist.

P.S.—"Live and let live."

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is a great pleasure to salute you for your courage in the stand you are taking in opposing the administration's current suicidal policy in Vietnam.

You are not alone. Hundreds, if not thousands, of common people here are with you.

You should be the presidential candidate so we could have a real fighter against Goldwaterism.

THOMAS DENNIS, JR.

DETROIT, MICH.,  
August 6, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please accept our heartfelt thanks for your courageous stand on the Vietnam war. Yours is the only voice of sanity in what appears to be a world gone crazy.

It gives us courage and inspiration at this moment and perhaps may even help to keep us firm in our determination not to give up in disgust in the forthcoming elections.

The nightmarish spectacle of the Goldwater victory during the recent Republican



Convention brought back memories of "It Can't Happen Here" by Sinclair Lewis. During that week we still had hopes that with President Johnson we will still have a choice. We were resolved to work for his election as we had not done since the days when Franklin D. Roosevelt was running to defeat Alf Landon.

But his rash stand on bringing us nearer to another world war makes this choice a farce.

What answer shall I give to my three new voters this year? My son, daughter and her husband. My friends whom I meant to inject with a spirit of hope and determination are as undecided and pessimistic as I am.

Were it not for voices such as yours I believe I would vote Democratic out of habit not out of belief.

Can one morally choose between the two leading candidates? Does it really make a difference whether world war III starts with BARRY's little A-bomb or President Johnson's provocations?

Keep up your good fight and may you be blessed in your endeavors. We are proud of you and wish we had you as our Michigan Senator or better still, as our new President.

With all our good wishes and thanks.

Respectfully yours,

MAY and SAM SWEET and FAMILY.

P.S.—We love you.

VAN NUYS, CALIF.,

August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I congratulate you on your stand on the bombing of the ports of North Vietnam. We support your courageous opposition to the ill-considered action of the military.

We have followed your career in the Senate and would be proud to have you represent us here in California.

We would also like to see you nominated as the running mate of President Johnson, but I suppose that this is asking too much.

Please keep up the good fight in the future and remember that there are others that hold your views and are behind you.

Sincerely yours,

G. J. GIESLER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My grateful thanks to you. If it were not for your voice of reason and truth it would be a black day for us.

My warmest good wishes for many years of priceless service.

Mrs. JANE JOHNSON.

LEVITTOWN, PA.,

August 8, 1964.

DEAR SIR: I want to express my gratitude to you for your courageous and intelligent stand on the Vietnam issue. The voices of sanity and fairplay are all too few.

You have my deepest admiration and support. My only regret is that I couldn't have the honor of voting for you as a Senator although I am considering writing in your name for President.

If this country is ever to be led out of the morass it is now in, it will depend on men like yourself to lead the way. I pray that you will never give up this fight.

Sincerely,

ALBERT ELMAN.

WELD, MAINE,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This letter is written to express sincerest thanks to you for your courage and realism in opposing the congressional blank check joint resolution requested

by President Johnson in the current, preventable Vietnam crisis. We would be unfortunate indeed without you and Senator GRUENING to speak for the thousands in the United States who deplore this sad ploy of the political and military factions in this country. The attempts to make a righteous cause out of the shabby and ambiguous situation in Vietnam are so tired and familiar that they are discouraging to those who hope for statesmanship in this perilous era.

The truly frightening aspect is that so many legislators, in whose power we are, have not yet been able to conceive of, much less accept, the fact that any major war will be the last war; and that major wars grow from small wars.

There is an obvious longing by many in the Pentagon for the old horse and buggy days; for the small controllable military conflicts; and because these men wish for this long-past possibility, they are willing, however unconsciously, to plunge the rest of the world into irreversible chaos.

I can only say again, thank you for your truly heroic stand and for your sanity. They are greatly needed.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

ALICE POLLARD.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. MORSE: I am impelled to write you to congratulate you on your courage in attacking the role of our Government in the current Vietnam crisis. It must be lonely up there on your eminence of integrity and valor. Where was Senator FULBRIGHT when the vote was taken? I note that he has written a book criticizing our Government's policy toward the Communist world, but when the chips are down he runs with the herd.

More power to you, and may your courage to defend the right never falter.

Sincerely yours,

RUTH STARR.

P.S.—You might pass this on to Senator FULBRIGHT.

JERICHO, LONG ISLAND, N.Y.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: Bravo. Many cheers to you for your stand in regard to the Vietnam resolution. If there were only more such as you.

How can I help in this frightening situation? What can one individual do?

Thank you for your courage.

Most sincerely,

Mrs. BEATRICE FELSHER.

WALNUT CREEK, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for taking the stand you have on the situation in Vietnam.

I feel, as I believe many thinking people do, that our country has no business "playing God" in southeast Asia or in the many other spots around the world. If we cannot now put the problem of the future of this small country in the hands of the U.N. and let whatever policing may be necessary rest in the hands of this international body, then there is no hope for world peace and understanding. If there is no such hope then I fear for myself, for my family and friends, and for all mankind—for the world cannot survive another war.

I wish there were more politicians with your courage and forthrightness.

Sincerely,

MARGARET B. BLAKE.

MARINA, CALIF.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: On behalf of myself and my family I would like to take this opportunity to thank you, with great sincerity, for your lonely fight in the U.S. Senate, for sanity in regard to the terrible conditions in southeast Asia, conditions that we are in a large way responsible for. I have read most of your speeches, or excerpts from them and your many articles written about conditions in South Vietnam. It is indeed unfortunate that I find very little mentioned of them in the so-called popular mass media, but have only found them in the more thoughtful journals that deal more objectively with situations presenting a more balanced and rational view. Unfortunately all too few people are able to secure or read these journals, or frankly understand a rational point of view, much less want to understand one. As you know the mass press is now merely the fourth estate.

I have often said, "thank heaven we have a man like Senator MORSE left in the Senate." Let me, sir, encourage you further in your efforts and knowing your background and knowledge of history, let me humbly remind you that history teaches us that most often the minority have been correct in their analysis, while the majority, blind to reason, have only resorted to power when power was to readily available. Do these men of power think they can succeed where historically every major power has failed thus far in modern history? History also shows one long series of defeats for the conservatives—time is not on their side—nor is history. The Asian people will in time look upon us in the same eyes as they formerly looked upon the other colonial powers of past years—indeed most of them do now. In order to win (?), as the war-minded think, we will have to carry on a war of annihilation—involving the "loss of face" in all of Asia. By our actions thus far we have done more to advance the cause of the opposition than if we would have followed the Geneva agreements of 1954, which we of course were afraid of—let's be honest about it—our policy even to be recognized had to be backed by force of arms. Indeed the soul of Mr. Dulles goes marching on—carrying us still deeper into a situation that can only lead to our eventual disaster. History again teaches us a frightening lesson—all too often in the past when power has become frustrated by the rebelliousness of people, power has resorted to still more power, blindly unable to see its own folly.

Are the war-minded indeed so blind and unreasonable to believe that it can win in southeast Asia? What will we win—can we occupy the whole area—while every other native not bribed sufficiently will resist our occupation? What will we accomplish? Did the French succeed in southeast Asia, in Algeria against a ragged, ill-fed bunch of revolutionary irregulars? What does national prestige entail—false frightened pride? What will be gained by killing off all the people in southeast Asia—they will continue to resist—what have they to lose? I have often suspected that this war in southeast Asia is a popular war of revolution because history has taught me that you don't get people to fight like the Vietcong do for nothing—least of all for the Chinese. They fought hard against the French and now they are fighting just as hard against our puppets. It matters little what label you give them—Communist included. The national liberation front, thanks to our ignorance, includes a great deal more opposition than just Communists even though the U.S. mass media cowardly avoids talking about this.

What about China—are you going to use nuclear bombs against her—what will this



lead to? Supposing they resort to war by other means—no doubt you have heard of chemical warfare—supposing we use it, too. War begets war, I'm sure you know this—but it's frightening because there are so darn few men like you in our Government these days—indeed, where is the opposition anyway?

I have spoken out at every opportunity that I have had and have convinced many, but what more can I do. I wish to hell that I could do more. People that I have reasoned with come to humane conclusions and even though you may not receive much response for your efforts I know they agree with you. All I can offer you is my support and I will continue to speak out, even though I stand a chance of losing my job as a teacher. This is another agonizing problem you might let your fellow Congressmen know about.

Since World War II, gradually people have become more and more afraid to discuss anything openly and frankly or have developed an almost hysterical response on their part to shut anyone up that does speak out as a citizen. People have imposed self-censorship upon themselves of the worst type—far more psychologically damaging than an outside force in a totalitarian state could do. Perhaps, Senator MORSE, as time goes on the truth becomes too intolerant for people to face up to. How about your fellow Senators—do they bother to study this situation from all points of view, including an unbiased, undistorted one—no doubt some do, but what honor do the others heap upon themselves when they vote in ignorance, at best only having consulted with the generals? When will we learn that you don't successfully fight ideas with bombs, but only with better ideas and when will we learn that people in various parts of this world eventually must solve their own problems in their own way, based upon their concept of their perception of reality and not upon ours. Our way of life may not be for them—is that so frightening when you consider that no two people on earth are the same? What arrogance do we inwardly possess that seems to result in our dictation to others that they must stand with us or follow our way. This course of action isn't even possible in an individual family, let alone in a family of nations. The only union of nations is a union of diversity. Perhaps it's true that the most powerful are indeed the most afraid. I will never allow myself to become that fearful and insecure as to think that our way is the only way. Perhaps it's also true that, "whom the gods would destroy, they first made mad." I for one have seen enough of our madness in southeast Asia and go on record as supporting your stand 100 percent. Thank God there are men like you left—you're the salt of the earth. If I can ever do any thing in my small way to assist you, I would consider it an honor and privilege.

Sincerely yours,

EUGENE T. BERNHARDT.

P.S.—Just a thought, if you ever run for President, I'd be tempted to vote for you once legally, but as many times as possible illegally; I do think we need an opposition party, don't you?

ATCHISON, KANS.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: We heard you speak on television about the recent naval battle off the coast of Vietnam and our Government's attitude toward it. We agree with you. Thank you for taking a courageous stand for the right.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. MORRIS NIELSON.

BRONX, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I want to express my heartfelt thanks and admiration for your—and Senator GRUENING'S—courageous opposition to the resolution on Vietnam, and your forthright statement of our role in that stricken area (New York Times, Aug. 6). Yours are voices, it seems, in a wilderness of hysteria that is abetting the dangerous reactionary supporters of GOLDWATER and heading our country, our sons, and the world toward disaster.

While there's still time, I pray that saner, and even vacillating Members of Congress will see reason—that we will withdraw our fleet and armed forces, and negotiate for a peaceful settlement, so that we can enjoy our blessings.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MAE MARQUILLES.

NEWARK, N.J.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to thank you from the bottom of my heart for maintaining your position of sanity in the midst of adolescent aggressiveness, and infantile possessiveness.

You alone have had the courage to speak out in the jungle that has become Washington. I take this opportunity to commend you.

This dangerous policy in Vietnam can only lead to the horrors that were displayed in Korea, and in Hiroshima 19 years ago today. May you have the strength and resoluteness to continue.

You are not alone in this country. God bless you.

Sincerely yours,

MICHAEL V. KLEIN.

EVERETT, WASH.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: For your position on peace, I want to commend you.

This is a critical time during which your action may determine whether we, the people of the world, will go on living or not.

Certainly Vietnam is not our country, and our men have no good reason to be there, or to die there. If President Johnson wishes the voters to see him as a better man than GOLDWATER it seems to me he should be leading our country toward peace. If he doesn't how can the voters tell him from GOLDWATER?

I hope that you can gather propeace or prosurvival people together for a voice against the war. Again, praises to you for your action against the war in Vietnam.

Sincerely,

FLORENCE M. HEMEKE.

DES PLAINES, ILL.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you. Your negative vote today on the Vietnam situation makes one believe that maybe there are a few intelligent men in Congress.

Your opposition was magnificent—and if only they had listened. How long can we continue with force and the threat of force before the whole thing blows sky high?

We had better find some peaceful solutions and we had better find them soon or there will be no one left to know that "we preserved our honor."

We owe a debt to our children to leave them on earth where they can grow up secure.

Your brave voice, raised in opposition to the folly we are committing in Vietnam, gives me courage. Again—thank you.

Sincerely,

LILLIAN HAYWARD.

McCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
Chicago, Ill., August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your outspoken criticism of the southeast Asia policy.

Please continue to press for a political solution in keeping with the policy we expect other nations to follow.

Best wishes.

Prof. CLINTON MORRISON.

AUGUST 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I am proud of your vote on the go-ahead resolution. Strange your associates fail to realize that those people after French colonial rule and the Dulles "doodlebug," don't understand what they have to fight for.

Too bad that you didn't provide in the so-called poverty bill, a give out to educate the law makers.

Personal regards.

MATT BROSSARD.

COLLEGE PARK, MD.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to convey my appreciation for your courageous stand against U.S. aggression in southeast Asia. You are one of too few Senators who rightly see the United States as the threat to peace which it plainly is. When will I get a chance to vote for you for President?

For democracy,

ALLEN SOLGANCH.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

DEAR SIR: Your stand on the role of Congress is a great one, and I sympathize wholeheartedly with it.

No one man should have the power to commit the United States to war.

Sincerely,

LOREN F. HOLSTE.

BRIGHTON, MASS.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I should like to tell you how pleased I was with your stand on the resolution to support President Johnson's position on the recent developments in southeast Asia. Many of my friends are also in support of your position, and are deeply disturbed that your voice was alone. We had voiced our support earlier of Senator Fulbright's proposal to reevaluate our Nation's foreign policy, and were disheartened by his more recent position on this matter.

Although we are in the minority, I am confident that the trend is in our favor, from a self-righteous and sanctimonious stand to a realistic and practical approach in our relations with other countries.

I am reminded, sir, of what has happened to the minority opinions of Justices Holmes, Brandeis, Black, and Douglas. Civilization does move forward.

May I offer you my best wishes and hopes for a continuing, distinguished career in the Senate.

Sincerely,

MARTIN JOEL MOULD.

JEROME B. HEYMAN,  
CONVERTER AND DISTRIBUTOR,  
New York N.Y., August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My family and I wish to congratulate you upon your stand concerning the war in Vietnam.



Thank God that there is one Senator in the U.S. Senate who is not afraid to speak the truth.

Sincerely yours,

JEROME B. HEYMAN.

CINCINNATI, OHIO,  
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon,  
U.S. Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I hasten to commend you for your courageous stand on the Vietnam situation. You have been one of the all too few who stand apart from the Me-Tooers in the Congress. Mrs. Floyd and I have read and highly regarded your article in the August "Progressive" monthly, and are reminded of the courage of the LaFollettes. I have been so bold as to recommend that Ohio's senior follow your example (insert Senator) in switching party allegiance in the opposite direction.

As a retired teacher of science in the public schools of Ohio, I hold a high respect for "How" and "Why" and have enrolled with the Humanists. As a member of a nonexistent Senior Citizens Council I have addressed letters of opinion to the President and to Congressmen. I enclose one to L.B.J. of recent date, yet prior to the late naval action. I am reminded of Lincoln's spot resolution preceding the Mexican War adventure. Why were our warships cruising so near to the North Vietnam shore?

However these things may be, we have no license to act as the sole conscience of the world. As one of the prime movers in creating a United Nations Organization, the United States should be the first to appeal to its authority. We owe to the world to implement the authority and status of the U.N.

Who commands the warmaking forces in our Nation? I would like to believe that civilians direct our overkill potentiality, rather than the high brass. How long can the piling-up of bombs continue. I regret that you cannot convert the Senator from Boeing.

Again, thanks for your stand.

Sincerely,

FRANK E. FLOYD.

P.S.—The enclosed cartoon does not apply to you. I merely thought that it may be of intrinsic interest to visitors to your office.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: I am writing to you to commend you for your fearless defense of the truth and peace in the world. It is a sad state of affairs that so few of our representatives have the courage to defy the war industries and vote in the peoples' interest. Here in California, my representatives, for whom I voted, will undoubtedly go down the line for war.

At the time I heard of the President's provocative actions against Vietnam, I also heard the news of the discovery of the bodies of the three young men in Mississippi. The President and the Attorney General assured us in the past that he had no authority legally to interfere in Mississippi to protect the voting rights of American citizens there. But for some strange reason, he seems to think that he has the legal right to interfere in Vietnam and even go so far as to send American warships 30 miles off the coast of the mainland of another country. If warships were sent to that distance from our shores, I am sure we would feel threatened. I don't understand the doubletalk about not sending our troops to the South but that our sons should be sent to Vietnam to protect the Vietnamese.

It is obvious that Mr. Johnson is giving us the Goldwater and McNamara program and leaving us with no alternative in November but to vote for war in either case. Many of us will sit this one out unless a man of your caliber can be brought into the picture.

All my family and friends urge you to continue your fight for our interests. We are behind you 100 percent.

I am sending copies of this letter to my California representatives.

Sincerely,

MRS. VERA MACMURRAY.

WOODLAND HILLS, CALIF.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You deserve the praise of the people of the United States and of the whole world for the statement which you made in Congress this week denouncing the part which the United States has played in the southeast Asia crisis.

I hope that your courageous and responsible voice will be heeded.

Yours truly,

MARK AARON SONNENBERG.

ABIQUITU, N. MEX.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your progressive article was much appreciated as very timely. You will be interested to know that the following telegram has been sent to the President of the United States:

"Grave concern for the deterioration of the situation in Vietnam and threatened extension of hostilities prompts urgent recommendations that the 14 nations' conference be reassembled through U.N. offices."

Signed by individuals, as individuals, from Colorado, California, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and New York at Family Camp, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, Ghost Ranch, Abiquitu, N. Mex.

Sincerely,

MARIE B. FOWLER.

FAYETTEVILLE, ARK.

Copies to: Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY.

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: Capitalism is again engaged in its two favorite pastimes—blood letting and lying. The Tonkin attacks did not happen, say the Chinese, and there are excellent reasons for believing them.

Following two alleged attacks, the second of which was carried out in stormy weather very favorable to the attackers, the American ships suffered not the slightest damage of any kind or nature whatsoever. The Chinese must have recognized the error of their brief incursion into India and would not be likely to make a second mistake. Without nuclear weapons they are, after all, the same as unarmed.

When Hitler invaded Poland the brainwashed German people were told it was a counterattack. Shirer in his book "Berlin Diary" asked how they could be expected to know any differently when all the news media stuck to the same lie. I have a sheaf of explanations from State on what is really going on in Vietnam and elsewhere. They are nothing but hogwash and deliberately intended to deceive.

The President's remark that China (without naming her) is as powerful as the United States gives the clue to what the long-term

goals are of American capitalism, the monopolists, the military-industrial complex. They wish to eventually engage the Chinese forces and will immediately call for the use of nuclear weapons, beginning with small field variety, in order to cope with the Chinese hordes. Warmakers in recent decades have deemed it essential to try out their weapons. Goldwater has said that ours have never been actually tested. The suggestion that China with her conventional weapons is as strong as the United States is ridiculous. A year from now, after the small ones have been tried out, the argument will be whether to explode 10 or 20 megaton bombs on Peking and Shanghai. How could the Chinese reply to nuclear bombs dropped from as near as a hundred miles away? Given the GOLDWATER mentality the situation is ideal for testing.

The Russians are manifestly right in denouncing the presence of our warships in tiny Tonkin Gulf as hostile and provocative. Anyone can see that this has nothing to do with rights on the high seas.

Stevenson charges that the Communists are using methods of terror and assassination in southeast Asia. The CIA is generally recognized as the assassins, directly or indirectly, of the Diem brothers. Sihanouk pulled the rug out just in time and is still alive. Nkrumah and Goulart are other examples of CIA attentions.

Senator WAYNE MORSE, a great American in this or any era in our history, seems to be fed up with American monopoly behavior in southeast Asia. The tricky media never fail to say he is against but always fail to give his reasons.

This morning McNamara testified before Congress that he doesn't believe there will be any further attacks on American ships. Who should know better? This is a manufactured incident from beginning to end for the purpose, first, of an immediate military buildup in the area, and second, to indoctrinate the world in the later use of nuclear weapons.

Comment, especially unfavorable, is invited.

Respectfully yours,

I. M. TOMREN.

WESTPORT, CONN.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My wife and I congratulate you on your courageous stand in opposing the resolution requested by President Johnson.

It is of some solace to know that there are two brave and honest voices in our Congress who oppose our headlong flight to total war.

We fully support your stand and thank you for it.

Respectfully,

JEAN and LEO A. GORDON.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 7, 1964.

President LYNDON JOHNSON,  
White House, Washington, D.C.:

Strongly protest military action in Gulf of Tonkin and continued provocative buildup of American military forces in southeast Asia. Our interventionist policies in this area seem calculated to produce a chain of incidents, reprisals, and counterreprisals which could escalate into a full-scale catastrophe. Many people are asking what difference it makes whether GOLDWATER or a liberal pushes the button. Others are saying that continually we reserve our severest repression, at home and abroad, for people of color. As a long-time Democrat, I urge that we follow the enlightened lead of Senator WAYNE MORSE and seek a conference and a political solution to the problems of southeast Asia.



## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate August 21, 1964:

## U.S. AIR FORCE

*To be lieutenant general*

Maj. Gen. Paul S. Emrick 1801A, Regular Air Force, to be assigned to positions of importance and responsibility designated by the President, in the grade indicated, under the provisions of section 8066, title 10, of the United States Code.

## U.S. ARMY

The following-named officers for temporary appointment in the Army of the United States to the grades indicated, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3442 and 3447:

*To be major general*

Brig. Gen. William Donald Graham O20067, Army of the United States (colonel, Medical Corps, U.S. Army).

*To be brigadier general*

Col. Norman Everett Peatfield O21027, Medical Corps, U.S. Army.

The following-named officer, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grade as follows:

*To be lieutenant general*

Maj. Gen. Richard Davis Meyer O18963, Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

## U.S. NAVY

The following-named officers of the Navy for permanent promotion to the grade indicated:

## MEDICAL CORPS

*To be rear admiral*

Herbert H. Eighmy

## SUPPLY CORPS

*To be rear admirals*

Elton W. Sutherland  
William A. Evans  
Bernhard H. Bieri, Jr.

*To be vice admiral*

Rear Adm. Lloyd M. Mustin, U.S. Navy, having been designated, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of said section, for appointment to the grade indicated while so serving.

## IN THE NAVY

The nominations beginning Alfred W. Snell to be lieutenant (junior grade), and ending Arthur L. Smeland to be lieutenant commander, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on July 27, 1964.

## POSTMASTERS

## ILLINOIS

Robert M. Nelson, Addison.  
Philip E. Talbot, Batavia.  
Eva E. Hall, Butler.  
Roy J. Prather, Catlin.  
Gale D. Pool, Chambersburg.  
Vincent C. Reinema, Chana.  
Elbert A. Hoppe, Chester.  
Carl E. Thomas, Clay City.  
William J. Winget, Clayton.  
Glenn A. Thompson, Denver.  
Oliver E. Sopp, East Carondelet.  
Fred Spanier, Highland Park.  
William C. Lease, Kirkwood.  
Martha A. Gavin, Little York.

Edward H. Bangs, Lostant.  
Clarence E. Dusch, Makanda.  
Harry G. Miller, Mount Carmel.  
James L. Brummell, New Canton.  
William C. Jones, New Holland.  
Robert L. Wright, Oregon.  
Walter D. Hage, Oswego.  
Mitchell Braun, Park Forest.  
Jerry D. Akers, Pearl.  
Woodrow W. Herrmany, Pinckneyville.  
Raymond A. Mylcraine, Piper City.  
Edward E. Remus, Plainfield.  
John E. Phebus, Plano.  
Robert J. Bohnert, Port Byron.  
Walter W. Brown, Preemption.  
J. Donald Roche, Raritan.  
Beverly J. Ebert, Riddott.  
Henry Vonck, Saint Charles.  
Roland O. Britt, Smithboro.  
Murrell E. Carter, Springerton.  
Freeman R. Nausley, Vergennes.  
Harry M. Moore, Virden.  
George G. Wright, West Chicago.  
Harley B. Hewitt, Western Springs.  
Robert J. Ambacher, Winthrop Harbor.

## OKLAHOMA

Louella F. Tabor, Carter.  
Robert L. Harrison, Fairview.

## PENNSYLVANIA

John D. Stroup, Belleville.

## WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate August 21, 1964:

## POSTMASTER

The nomination sent to the Senate on February 3, 1964, of Mr. William I. Haynes to be postmaster at Fillmore, in the State of California.



# Daily Digest

## HIGHLIGHTS

Both Houses cleared numerous bills for President and took an interim adjournment until August 31.

## Senate

### Chamber Action

*Routine Proceedings, pages 20168-20192, 20281*

**Bills Introduced:** Five bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 3155-3159; and S. Res. 365.

Page 20170

**Bills Reported:** Reports were made as follows:

H.R. 2501, authorizing promotion of qualified Reserve officers of the Army and Air Force to existing unit vacancies, with amendment (S. Rept. 1515);

H.R. 9393, to amend the Social Security Act so as to provide full retroactivity for disability determinations, and for other purposes, with amendments (S. Rept. 1516); and

H.R. 10473, extending program of Federal payments for foster care in child-care institutions under the program of aid to families with dependent children under the Social Security Act, with amendments (S. Rept. 1517).

Page 20170

**Bills Referred:** Two House-passed bills were referred to appropriate committees.

Page 20168

**College Aid: Correction:** Page D723 of the DAILY DIGEST of Thursday, August 20, incorrectly stated that S. 3140, establishing programs for scholarships and loan insurance in higher education, was passed on call of calendar. This bill was not passed.

**Conference Reports Adopted:** Senate adopted conference reports on the following four bills:

*D.C.:* H.R. 12196, increasing salaries of officers of the Metropolitan Police force, D.C. Fire Department, Park Police, and White House Police (after rejection by 8 yeas to 57 nays of Morse motion to recommit the conference report with instructions to Senate conferees respecting elimination of longevity retirement provisions);

*Taxation:* H.R. 4844, to provide an election to the taxpayer for treatment, for purposes of inclusion in gross income of installment obligations acquired from a decedent, and releases from liability under bonds filed under previous law;

*Taxation:* H.R. 5739, to correct certain inequities in taxation of life insurance companies; and

*Taxation:* H.R. 10467, to continue for a temporary period certain rules relating to the deductibility of accrued vacation pay. Pages 20204-20209, 20227-20229

**D.C. Minimum Wage:** S. 860, to broaden the coverage and improve standards of the D.C. minimum wage laws, was passed with committee amendment. This bill was incorrectly shown in DIGEST of August 20, p. D723, as having been passed on call of calendar.

Pages 20232-20235

**Bills Cleared for President:** The following bills were cleared for President in the manner indicated:

*Migrant farm labor:* S. 524, to provide for the registration of contractors of migrant agricultural workers (by concurrence in House amendments);

*Fire Island Seashore:* S. 1365, providing for the establishment of Fire Island National Seashore, N.Y. (by concurrence in House amendments);

*Feed grains:* S. 400, providing uniform penalties for misuse of feed made available for relieving distress, etc. (by concurrence in House amendment);

*Riverton reclamation:* H.R. 12128, to increase authorizations for construction of the Riverton Federal reclamation project (passed without amendment after Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs was discharged from its further consideration); motion to reconsider passage was tabled; S. 3052, companion bill, was indefinitely postponed;

*Private bills:* S. 2170 and 1875, private bills;

*Canadian Exhibition:* S. 2905, to appoint a Commissioner General for U.S. participation in the Canadian Universal and International Exhibition (by concurrence in House amendments);

*Coin shortage:* S. 2950, authorizing the mint to inscribe the figure "1964" on all coins minted until adequate supplies are available (by concurrence in House amendments);

*Guam:* S. 692, authorizing establishment of a Federal agriculture program for Guam (by concurrence in House amendments);

*Nurses training:* H.R. 11241, authorizing funds for improved nurse training facilities (by concurrence in House amendment to Senate amendment);



*Arts Council:* H.R. 9586, to provide for the establishment of a National Council on the Arts to assist in the growth and development of the arts in the U.S. (by passage without amendment—motion to reconsider tabled); and

*Leif Erickson Day:* H.J. Res. 393, to authorize the President to proclaim October 9 in each year as Leif Erickson Day (passed without amendment after Committee on the Judiciary had been discharged from its further consideration).

Pages 20203,  
20205, 20229–20232, 20242–20244, 20254–20255, 20258,  
20273, 20278–20281

**Call of Calendar:** On call of calendar Senate passed seven measures, as follows:

**Without amendment and cleared for President:**

*Reclamation:* H.R. 130, providing for payment of compensation, including severance damages, for rights-of-way acquired by the U.S. in connection with reclamation projects begun after January 1, 1961;

*Public lands—California:* H.R. 11594, authorizing exchange of certain lands in the county of Monterey, Calif.;

*Fort Jay, N.Y.:* H.R. 9803, authorizing the Army to acquire the building constructed on Fort Jay Military Reservation, N.Y., by the YMCA;

*Public lands—Massachusetts:* H.R. 11338, removing certain conditions subject to which certain real property in South Boston, Mass., was conveyed to the Massachusetts Port Authority; and

*Public lands—California:* H.R. 12278, authorizing exchange with Sunnyvale, Calif., of certain lands at the Naval Air Station, Moffett Field.

**With amendment, to be returned to House:**

*Public lands disposal:* H.R. 5159, policy of Congress that lands administered by Secretary of the Interior be managed under principles of multiple use to produce a sustained yield of products and services.

**With amendment and cleared for House:**

*Geothermal steam leases:* S. 883, to amend the Mineral Leasing Act to authorize geothermal steam leases.

Pages 20235–20239, 20257–20258, 20272–20273

**Interim Adjournment:** Senate concurred in H. Con. Res. 359, to provide that when the House and Senate adjourn on Friday, August 21, they will stand adjourned until Monday, August 31, at 12 o'clock noon.

Senate also concurred in H. Con. Res. 360, authorizing the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate to sign enrolled bills and joint resolutions notwithstanding the adjournment of the Congress.

Pages 20213–20214

**Public Lands:** Senate passed with committee amendments H.R. 5498, authorizing sale of public lands not needed for Federal program requirements.

Pages 20258–20259

**Reapportionment:** When H.R. 11926, to limit jurisdiction of Federal courts in reapportionment cases, was received from House, the bill was read for the first time, but Senator Thurmond objected to its second reading.

Pages 20259–20267

**Foreign Aid—Social Security:** Senate debated pending Dirksen-Mansfield reapportionment amendment to H.R. 11380, fiscal 1965 authorizations for the foreign aid program, and by unanimous consent it was agreed that when Senate returns on August 31 from its interim adjournment the bill will be temporarily put aside for consideration of H.R. 11865, proposed Social Security Amendments of 1964.

Pages 20192–20200, 20209–20213,  
20246–20247, 20250–20251, 20259–20270, 20281–20284

**Interparliamentary Union Conference:** Senator Stennis was appointed to attend meetings of Interparliamentary Union Conference at Copenhagen in lieu of Senator Lausche, resigned.

Page 20281

**Canyonlands National Park:** Senate disagreed to House amendments to S. 27, to establish the Canyonlands National Park in Utah, asked for conference with House, and appointed as conferees Senators Bible, Anderson, Moss, Allott, and Jordan of Idaho.

Pages 20255–20257

**Confirmations:** 3 Army, 1 Air Force, numerous Navy nominations, and 42 postmasters, were confirmed.

Page 20391

**Nominations:** Senate received the following nominations: 1 civilian; 1 Army; 12 postmasters; and 1 postmaster withdrawal.

Page 20390

**Record Vote:** One record vote was taken today.

Page 20228

**Quorum Call:** One quorum call was taken today.

Page 20205

**Program for Monday, August 31:** Senate met at 10 a.m. and adjourned at 7:26 p.m. until noon Monday, August 31, when its unfinished business will be H.R. 11380, foreign aid, which by unanimous consent will be put aside temporarily for consideration of H.R. 11865, social security.

Pages 20271, 20390

## Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

### NOMINATION

*Committee on the Judiciary:* Subcommittee held routine hearings on the nomination of Gerald J. Weber, to be U.S. district judge for the western district of Pennsylvania. The nominee was present to testify and answer questions on his own behalf.



# House of Representatives

## Chamber Action

**Bills Introduced:** Six public bills, H.R. 12491-12496; six private bills, H.R. 12497-12502; and one resolution, H. Res. 871, were introduced. Page 20167

**Bills Reported:** Reports were filed as follows:

H.R. 11302, requiring premarital examinations in the District of Columbia (H. Rept. 1845); and

H.R. 12371, to amend the D.C. Sales Tax Act to provide an exemption from the tax imposed by such act for certain operations of the majority and minority rooms of the House of Representatives, amended (H. Rept. 1846). Page 20167

**Legislative Program:** The legislative program for the week of August 31 to September 5 was announced by the majority whip. Pages 20128-20129

**Calendar Wednesday:** Agreed to dispense with Calendar Wednesday business of September 2. Page 20129

**Cleared for President:** The following bills were cleared for Presidential consideration by House agreement to Senate amendments thereto:

*Carr Powerhouse:* H.J. Res. 733, to designate the powerhouse on Clear Creek at the head of Whiskeytown Reservoir, in State of California, as the Judge Francis Carr Powerhouse; Page 20129

*Colorado-Wyoming:* H.R. 3672, to provide for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Savery-Pot Hook, Bostwick Park, and Fruitland Mesa participating reclamation projects under the Colorado River Storage Project Act; Page 20129

*Railway Labor Act:* H.R. 8344, to amend the Railway Labor Act to provide that the terms of office of members of the National Mediation Board shall expire on July 1; Pages 20129-20130

*Washington Terminal Co.:* H.R. 8451, to exempt the Washington Terminal Co. from D.C. Sales Tax Act; and Page 20130

*D.C. life insurance companies:* H.R. 8355, to amend the D.C. Life Insurance Act in regard to capital of stock insurance companies. Pages 20130-20131

*Military real estate:* H.R. 1136, to authorize the Secretary of the Army to pay fair value for improvements located on the railroad right-of-way owned by bona fide lessees or permittees. Page 20146

**Teton Basin Project:** House insisted on its amendments to S. 1123, authorizing construction of the Lower Teton division of the Teton Basin reclamation project, Idaho; agreed to a conference requested by the Senate;

and appointed as conferees Representatives Aspinall, Rogers of Texas, Udall, Saylor, and Andrews of North Dakota. Page 20129

**Nurse Training:** The bill H.R. 11241, to increase the opportunities for training professional nursing personnel, along with Senate amendments thereto, was taken from the Speaker's table and the House receded and concurred in Senate amendments Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6. The House receded and concurred in amendment No. 4 with an amendment and returned the legislation to the Senate. Page 20129

**Conference Reports Adopted:** Conference reports on the following bills were called up, considered, and adopted by voice votes and thus cleared for Presidential action:

*Liability release:* H.R. 4844, to release liability under bonds filed under section 44(d) of Internal Revenue Code of 1939; Page 20139

*Life insurance taxation:* H.R. 5739, correction of certain inequities in taxation of life insurance companies; Pages 20139-20140

*Vacation pay:* H.R. 10467, to continue for a temporary period certain existing rules relating to the deductibility of accrued vacation pay; and Pages 20140-20141

*D.C. police and firemen's pay:* H.R. 12196, to amend the D.C. Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958 to increase salaries and to adjust pay alignment. Page 20141

**D.C. Mentally Ill:** S. 935, to establish procedures for confinement and treatment of mentally ill persons in the District of Columbia, was passed with amendments and returned to the Senate. Pages 20141-20146

**Adjournment:** Pursuant to H. Con. Res. 359, the House adjourned at 3:39 p.m. until Monday, August 31, at 12 o'clock noon.

## Committee Meetings

### INTERNATIONAL LABOR

*Committee on Education and Labor:* Ad Hoc Subcommittee on International Labor Organization heard George L-P Weaver, Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs.

### PUBLIC IMMIGRATION

*Committee on the Judiciary:* Subcommittee No. 1 held a hearing on public immigration, and heard testimony from public witnesses.



## BILLS SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT

## New Laws

(For last listing of public laws, see DIGEST, p. D728,  
August 20, 1964)

S. 1642, amending in several regards the Securities Act and the Securities Exchange Act. Signed August 20, 1964 (P.L. 88-467).

S. 1627, enabling the United States to contribute its share of expenses of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. Signed August 20, 1964 (P.L. 88-468).

H.J. Res. 1026, extending the time by which a lease transferring tobacco acreage allotment may be filed. Signed August 20, 1964 (P.L. 88-469).



## Congressional Record

appropriate provisions of Title 44, United States Code, and published for each day that one or both Houses are in session, excepting very infrequent instances when two or more unusually small consecutive issues are printed at one time. ¶ The Congressional Record will be furnished by mail to subscribers, free of postage, for \$1.50 per month, payable in advance. Remit check or money order, made payable to the Superintendent of Documents, directly to the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402. For subscription purposes, 20 daily issues constitute a month. The charge for individual copies varies in proportion to the size of the issue. ¶ Following each session of Congress, the daily Congressional Record is revised, printed, permanently bound and is sold by the Superintendent of Documents in individual parts or by sets. ¶ With the exception of copyrighted articles, there are no restrictions on the republication of material from the Congressional Record.

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**1965  
action  
program  
of  
the  
Council  
for a  
Livable  
World**





**ACTION PROGRAM OF THE**

**COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD**

**1965**

## **THE COUNCIL**

The Council for a Livable World was founded in 1962 by the late Leo Szilard, nuclear physicist and molecular biologist, a leading figure in the conception and execution of the Manhattan Project, and the winner of the 1959 Atoms for Peace Award. The Council is a political organization working for practical measures to produce a livable world and, in particular, to reduce the risk of war. It maintains a staff in Washington and, under the guidance of its Directors and Advisors, conducts a varied program of operations.

The Council believes that a small group of thoughtful and dedicated persons, united on a set of attainable and responsible objectives, can significantly encourage constructive United States foreign and defense policies.

The Council asks its supporters to contribute 2% of their incomes, where possible, to the campaigns of recommended Congressional candidates or to the support of the Council's general activities.

## **COUNCIL ACTIVITIES**

Each year the Council recommends to its supporters a selected few incumbents or new candidates, mainly for the Senate, who, it believes, will not only support the Administration's constructive policies but will also press for improvements in those policies.

The Council's recommendations take into account a candidate's chance of success, his need for financial support, and the nature of his opposition. The Council attempts to concentrate its efforts on those campaigns in which relatively modest contributions may be of crucial importance in assisting the candidate. For example, in 1962 supporters of the Council contributed about \$45,000 to the campaigns of eight senatorial and ten congressional candidates. Among them was George McGovern of South Dakota (the Director of Food for Peace under President Kennedy). Mr. McGovern won the election by approximately 600 votes. As a Senator he has attracted national acclaim for his thoughtful statements on foreign policy and defense spending and for introducing legislation which would establish a commission concerned with the economic problems of conversion from military to civilian spending.

The Council maintains contact with members of Congress and the Administration who are deeply concerned with the need for arms control and disarmament. Under Council auspices, scientists and other knowledgeable persons meet in Washington with members of the Administration to urge them to make specific changes in policy, and with members of Congress to suggest legislation based on the objectives of the Council as set forth in its Action Program and position papers. Many of these discussions with officials are completely informal. At other times, the Council presents testimony or prepares background research for congressional hearings or federal agencies. This past year, the Council has arranged highly successful seminars for Senators and their assistants at which many officials of the Administration have been speakers.

Study and research in the areas of foreign policy and disarmament is a significant activity of the Council. Most of these studies culminate in papers which are widely distributed in Washington and to Council supporters.



## THE CONTEXT

Alarmed by the overwhelming destructiveness of nuclear war, the Soviet Union and the United States have taken the first steps which could lead to a reasonably secure peace. The bitterness of the cold war has begun to abate. Agreements have successfully been negotiated for a limited nuclear test ban, for a hot-line between Washington and Moscow, and for inspected Antarctic disarmament. There has been a joint undertaking not to place bombs in orbit. Both countries have announced reductions in defense spending. A cut-back in the production of weapons-grade fissionable material scheduled by the United States has its parallel in the announcement of a Soviet decision to halt construction of two plutonium-producing reactors. A bilateral consular treaty has been signed.

Since World War II, the international scene has changed so profoundly that the world can no longer be thought of as divided into two camps. The Soviet Union is striving to reach the living standard of Western Europe and its society is opening. The countries of Eastern Europe are achieving significant, even if limited, independence. Half the world's population has been reorganized under new national governments of marked variety. Independent countries in Europe and elsewhere are pursuing independent policies.

As one consequence, the Soviet Union and the United States can no longer determine bilaterally the terms of a German settlement. At best, they can establish conditions which would encourage the East and West Germans to work out the terms themselves and to guarantee that, in any event, no resort to force would be efficacious.

Although the United States and the Soviet Union continue to be adversaries in many respects, this is a relationship each could accept with confidence in the knowledge that both the United States and the USSR have at least two vital interests in common: that there be no proliferation of nuclear weapons and that there be no nuclear war. With time, additional common interests will develop.

With responsible leadership, the nuclear superpowers can settle some of their outstanding disputes, can control and reduce their arms, and help conduct international affairs in general in such a manner that quarrels within the world community will not become deadly. Unfortunately, this is not the only possible course which lies before us. Violence in Central Europe, South America, or Southeast Asia could lead to United States and Soviet military intervention on opposite sides.

Should this happen, there would be grave danger that nuclear weapons would be introduced and that the war would escalate into general nuclear conflagration.

We have come to a point in the arms race where, within wide limits, a further increase in offensive power on either side has no great effect on the strategic balance. This allows us an opportunity for political adjustments and disarmament measures. Yet largely as a result of past fears and past decisions, the United States (and presumably also the Soviet Union) is continuing to procure and deploy nuclear missiles at a rapid rate. Although the rate of American missile procurement is scheduled to decrease markedly in the next few years, it is still possible that technical innovations will give the arms race new impetus which would make it unending. The seemingly innocent placement of missile defenses about cities, for example, would start missile and anti-missile programs vying with each other and could precipitate an unlimited offensive versus defensive arms race. These developments can be avoided and the world can begin to free itself from the threat of nuclear war only if the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union institute and enlist broad support for imaginative and responsible policies. It is the aim of the Council for a Livable World to help initiate and support such policies.

The United States can no longer rely for its security on its arsenal of nuclear weapons or on its ability to act independently. There was a time when a government could defend its citizens by military strength; but great military strength can no longer insure the defense of a nation. The military strength of the United States has grown tremendously and continues to grow. But even as the "superiority" of its destructive capacity increases, so does the number of Americans who would die in a general nuclear war increase.

When countries have the power to annihilate one another within hours, it is urgent that no controversy become sufficiently acute to precipitate the annihilation. A policy of containing an adversary, of not recognizing him, of not trading with him, fails to take account of today's realities. In place of containment we must work toward interdependence, even while maintaining military strength. The United Nations should be increasingly supported as the means of keeping issues under control. But solving current crises simply gives the world time, time to improve and strengthen the fabric of the international community so that crises become less critical and so that each member of the community can better serve human needs and aspirations. The more each country benefits from international order,



the less likely it will be to shatter that order. International political changes which we have been unable to bring about by containment and isolation may well be fostered by cooperation and peaceful competition between nations.

Some of the policies advocated by the Council could be adopted immediately by our government. However, the executive branch cannot act in ways for which there is insufficient congressional and popular support even if it believes that such actions would be in the best interests of the nation.

## THE 1965 ACTION PROGRAM

*The goal of the Council is a livable world free from the threat of nuclear war. In working toward this goal, the Council finds itself in favor of a large number of measures, but endeavors to concentrate its efforts at any one time on a limited number of objectives. Some of these objectives are general, reflecting a continuing policy; others are specific and change with time. The current action program of the Council follows.*

### I. The General Program

*To raise the level of congressional and public discussion of foreign and defense policies:*

1. Support election campaigns of thoughtful and responsible congressional candidates willing to speak out on the problems of securing a peaceful world.
2. Provide advice, testimony, and study papers on important issues and support seminar programs for congressmen and their aides.
3. Arrange for legislators and other distinguished persons to be heard by the public on issues of foreign policy and defense.

### II. The Specifics

*To prevent a new upsurge in the arms race:*

1. Press the United States government to maintain its position against deployment of an anti-missile defense system, and to urge the Soviet Union not to deploy one.

*To inhibit the spread of nuclear weapons:*

2. Press for treaty commitments to stop underground nuclear tests.
3. Press the United States government to assist in the establishment of international denuclearized zones.
4. Urge the United States government to try to

**achieve an international agreement preventing the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. (The proposed multilateral nuclear force [MLF] is a much less promising route for averting proliferation and should therefore not be permitted to stand in the way of such an agreement.)**

*To remove economic obstacles to arms control and disarmament:*

5. Stimulate planning within Congress and the Administration, and encourage the establishment within the government of better institutional arrangements for making alternative use of resources now devoted to military purposes.

*To improve the prospects for significant arms reduction by international agreement:*

6. Press the United States government to offer the Soviet Union a package agreement which goes beyond the presently proposed freeze on the production of long-range missiles and bombers by including a substantial verified mutual reduction in the numbers of these delivery vehicles.
7. Urge the United States government to turn from what is now a propaganda duel over "General and Complete Disarmament" and, instead, to concentrate on working out a realistic minimum-deterrent plan under which nuclear powers would reduce their nuclear strategic forces to verified and agreed smaller numbers of missiles.

*To strengthen constructive relations, encourage development of mechanisms for peaceful settlement of conflicts between nations:*

8. Press for the abolition of United States legislative restrictions on peaceful East-West trade.
9. Press for the drastic reduction of restrictions on travel abroad by Americans and on travel within this country by others.
10. Urge the United States government to develop, with other governments, advance plans and logistical arrangements so that, upon call by the United Nations, international peacekeeping forces can be deployed promptly and effectively.
11. Urge the United States government to avoid escalation of the war in Vietnam, and instead to press for negotiations on a nonaligned North and South Vietnam, either as separate or as reunified states, whose neutrality would be protected by firm international guarantees and peacekeeping forces. In addition, the United States should place increased emphasis on economic aid programs in Vietnam, both now and after neutralization.



# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

*Founded in 1962 by Leo Szilard*

*National Office: Dupont Circle Building, Suite 535,  
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.,  
20036. Phone: 265-3800 ac 202.*

## OFFICERS

*President: BERNARD T. FELD*

*Vice-President: ALLAN FORBES, JR.*

*Executive Director: H. A. CROSBY*

*Counsel: JOHN SILARD*

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*Supporters of the Council need not be in complete  
agreement with all the major objectives of the Action  
Program, but they should be wholeheartedly in favor  
of at least one. Although Council policy at any time is  
restricted to the current Program, Supporters are free  
to press, either as individuals or through other organ-  
izations to which they may belong, for objectives not  
contained in the Program. Inquiries for further infor-  
mation will be welcome.*



MEMORANDUM TO: All Supporters and Interested Persons

SUBJECT: New Supporters

You will recall that over the past few months we have suggested that you provide us with names of friends and acquaintances who might be interested in knowing more about the activities of the Council, and who might become Supporters. Over 6,000 of such suggestions were made, and each of these persons received whatever material on the Council was then current.

The response from these persons has been so gratifying in both total numbers of new Supporters and total amount of money contributed that we again ask your help. In the short time that remains before the fall elections, we would like to contact as many additional persons as possible whom we have reason to believe might be interested in the Council. Would you therefore again be willing to give some thought to persons you know who might be interested in the Council's activities and provide us with their names and addresses on this form. Please try not to repeat any name you have suggested before. It would be helpful to have as many suggestions as possible, and to have this form returned quickly, to allow people enough time prior to the elections to consider their support. A return envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Your help will be very greatly appreciated.

\* \* \* \* \*

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Your name and address)

Please send information on the Council to the following persons:

\_\_\_\_\_ You may use my name in forwarding information.

\_\_\_\_\_ Please do not use my name.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

(Please turn the page to list additional names)



MEMORANDUM TO: All supporters and interested persons

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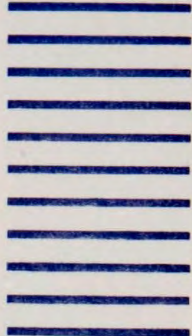
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BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

August 22 - 23

Peterson  
Cohen  
Feltz  
Frank Long

ms  
men,

I. Additions to the Board (Doering)

4 (29 sep), Lou,

II. Fall Political Support

1. Further support for candidates presently being recommended, plus additional candidates.

Attachments:

List of Senate and selected House races  
Voting Records of Incumbents  
Information on Contenders

2. The kinds of appeals to be made

III. Implementing the Action Program

++ Bethe  
± Chantelaine  
+ Conway



SENATORS FOR RE-ELECTION IN 1964

(See attached sheets for further details on opponents to incumbents)

1. J. Glenn Beall (R., Md.)
2. Quentin N. Burdick (D., N.D.)
3. Harry F. Byrd (D., Va.)
4. Robert C. Byrd (D. W. Va.)
5. Howard W. Cannon (D., W.Va.)
6. Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.)
7. J. Howard Edmondson (D. Okla.)  
interim apptnt and defeated  
by Fred Harris (D., Okla.)
8. Pierre Salinger (D., Cal.)
9. Hiram L. Fong (R., Hawaii)
10. Gov. Paul Fannin (R)
11. Albert Gore (D., Tenn.) —
12. Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.) —
13. R. Vance Hartke (D., Ind.)
14. Spessard L. Holland (D., Fla.)
15. Roman L. Hruska (R. Neb.)
16. Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.)
17. Kenneth B. Keating (R., NY)
18. Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.)
19. Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.)
20. Eugene J. McCarthy (D., Minn.)
21. Gale McGee (D., Wyoming)
22. Edwin L. Mechem (R., N.M.)
23. Frank E. Moss (D., Utah)
24. Edmund S. Muskie (D., Maine)
25. John O. Pastore (D., R.I.)
26. William Proxmire (D. Wisc.)
27. Winston L. Prouty (R., Vt.)
28. Hugh Scott (R., Pa.)
29. John Stennis (D., Miss.)
30. Stuart Symington (D., Mo.)
31. Ross Bass (D., Tenn.)
32. John J. Williams (R., Del.)
33. Harrison A. Williams (D., N.J.)
34. Ralph W. Yarborough (D., Tex.)
35. Stephen M. Young (D., Ohio)

vs.

- Joseph Tydings (D)  
Thomas Kleppe (R)  
Richard Arnold May (R)  
Cooper Benedict (R)
- 1) Olan Woodruff, or
  - 2) Paul Laxalt primary Sept. 1  
John Lodge (R)
- Bud Wilkinson (R)  
George Murphy (R)  
Cong. Thomas P. Gill Primary 10/3
- 1) Roy Elson, or
  - 2) Reg Jennings, or
  - 3) Bob Gavin Primary in Sept.  
Dan Kuykendall (R)
- 1) Elly Peterson, or
  - 2) James F. O'Neil Primary 9/8  
D. Russell Bontrager (R)  
Claude R. Kirk, Jr. (R)  
Raymond W. Arndt (D)
- Lloyd Andrews Primary 9/15  
Robert Kennedy Primary 9/1  
Howard Whitmore (R)  
Alex Elewett, Jr.  
Wheelock Whitney (R) Primary 9/8  
John Wold (R)
- ← Cong. Joseph Montoya (D)  
Ernest Wilkinson (R)  
Cong. Clifford G. McIntire (R)  
Ronald Lageaux (R) Primary 9/17  
Wilber Renk (R) Primary 9/8  
Fred Fayette Primary 9/8  
Genevieve Elatt (D)
- No Republican Opponent  
Jean Paul Bradshaw (R)  
Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R)  
Esvernor Carvel  
Bernard M. Shanley (R)  
George Bush (R.)  
Cong. Robert Taft (R)

HOUSE:

1. John V. Lindsay (I, N.Y.)
2. Bradford Morse (R. Mass.)
3. Ralph Harding (D, (D., Idaho)

- 1) Mrs. Eleanor Clark French (D) or
  - 2) Kieran O'Doherty - **Conservative Party**
  - 1) Andrew Benson (D), or
  - 2) George Arvantis (D) Primary September
- George Hanson (R)



INFORMATION ON SENATORS' OPPONENTS

1. J. Glenn Beall (R., Md.) vs. Joseph Tydings (see attached)
2. Quentin N. Burdick (D., N.D.) Thomas Kleppe (R)
3. Harry F. Byrd (D., Va.) Richard A. May, 69, (R), a retired importer - exporter and now a rancher.
4. Robert C. Byrd (D., W.Va.) Cooper F. Benedict (R), 57, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, a Lewisburg farmer and unsuccessful candidate for Congress in 1962.
5. Howard W. Cannon (D., Nev.) 1) Olan Woodruff or Primary 9/1  
2) Paul Laxalt
6. Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.) former Governor John Lodge (R. 1951-55) and who served in the House from 1947 to 1951 and unsuccessfully sought the Republican Senate nomination in 1962. Ambassador on special presidential missions to P.R., Panama and Costa Rica 1953; ambassador to Spain 1955.
7. State Sen. Fred R. Harris (D. Okla.) Harris agrees with President Johnson on foreign policy. Bud Wilkinson (R) former Oklahoma University football coach (one week before announcement he changed from Democrat to Republican). Has served as director National Physical Fitness Program under President Kennedy.
8. Pierre Salinger (D.) Cal. George Murphy (R) (61), a conservative. He opposes most of the policies of the Kennedy and Johnson Administration. He has been quite critical of foreign policy of both Kennedy and Johnson. (Cal. ballot will show Proposition No. 14 re fair housing--inserted by real estate people--Salinger is for this and Murphy is against it. The main issue of campaign will be Murhphy has no previous experience in government; present poll shows Salinger 1 million votes ahead, but could change any time. Money is not so much a matter of interest now as time as Congress will be holding approximately another month.
9. Hiram L. Fong (R, Hawaii) U.S. Rep. Thomas P. Gill (D) 42, a strong party liberal who served previously as Oahu County Democratic Chairman and as majority leader in Hawaii House. See voting record.
10. Gov. Paul Fannin (R., Arizona) 1) Roy Elson - former administrative ass't to Sen. Hayden  
2) Reg Jennings  
3) Bob Gavin



2.

11. Albert Gore (D., Tenn.)

Dan Kuykendall (R) (39), regional manager of the Proctor & Gamble Distributing Co. in Memphis, charges that country folks are pretty well fed up with Sen. Gore's brand of liberal international politics.

12. Philip Hart (D, Mich.)

1) Mrs. Elly M. Peterson (49) (R) Ass't Chairman and Head of Women's Division of Rep. National Committee and an Associate of Gov. Romney (it is felt he promoted her running). Has stated campaign will have two main issues: 1) Bobby Baker and 2) war in Viet Nam. Attacking mainly on domestic consumers interest in State of Michigan--claims Hart keeps no liaison with voters; claims Hart's basic weakness is that he reflects the voice of the Administration rather than people of Michigan--that he does the wishes of LBJ. Claims we should have planned foreign policy rather than just reacting in a crisis. "There is no question in the minds of the people that the disruption of foreign relations with many countries, the lowering of our prestige and integrity in government are major issues!"

13. Vance Hartke (D., Ind.)

2) James F. O'Neil, a member of the State Board of Education.

State Sen. D. Russell Bontrager (R) 55, a moderate conservative.

14. Spessard L. Holland (D., Fla.)

Claude R. Kirk, Jr., (R), Jacksonville Banker and a political novice.

15. Roman L. Hruska (R., Neb.)

Raymond W. Arndt (D) Columbus accountant

16. Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.)

Lloyd Andrews (R) 43, a former state superintendent of public instruction. Andrews charges that Jackson "speaks as a conservative but has one of the most liberal voting records in the Senate." He has also criticized Jackson for failing to stop the national Administration from giving the TFX fighter contract to General Dynamics. Andrews says the contract went to Gen. Dynamics because of electoral votes in NY and Texas.

17. Kenneth B. Keating (R., NY)

Rbbert Kennedy

18. Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.)

Howard Whitmore (R)

19. Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.)

State Representative Alex Blewett (R) 51, Great Falls Attorney and former majority leader of the Montana House.



3.

20. Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D., Minn.)

Wheelock Whitney (R) 37, Mayor of Wayzata and chairman of the Board of a Minneapolis investment firm. Whitney, a moderate Repub. has toured all of Minn. and accused McCarthy of being totally uninformed and ineffective as a representative of the people of the State of Minn. Whitney began as a political unknown but appears to have many of the requisites of a successful political career-- veteran of World War II, graduate of Yale, youth, attractive wife, 4 children, wealth.

✓ 21. Gale McGee (D. Wyo.)

John Wold -former State Republican Chairman

22. Edwin L. Mechem (R., N.M.)  
(former Governor and a conservative)

✓ Rep. Joseph M. Montoya (D) 49.

✓ 23. Frank E. Moss (D, Utah)

Ernest Wilkinson, 65 (R) former president of Brigham Young University and head of the Mormon school system in Utah, a staunch conservative. Moss' re-election prospects are aided vastly by the accession of Lyndon Johnson to the Presidency. Utah, however, has a strong conservative-Republican tendency and the GOP has a potentially aggressive, articulate campaigner in Wilkinson. He is a millionaire in his own rights and has stated he will spend one million to be elected to the Senate.

✓ 24. Edmund S. Muskie (D. Maine)

U.S. Rep. Clifford G. McIntire (R) 56, see voting record

25. John O. Pastore (D., R.I.)

Ronald R. Lageux (R) Gov. Chafee's executive Counsel.

26. William Proxmire (D., Wisc.)

Wilber N. Renk (R) 55, former president of Wisconsin University Board of Regents a moderate Republican.

27. Winston L. Prouty (R., Vt.)

Fred Fayette (D.)

28. Hugh Scott (R., Pa.)

Genevieve Blatt, 50, (D) the State Secretary of Internal Affairs, who is supported by Clark and the "reform" wing of party in State

29. John C. Stennis (D., Miss)

Unopposed

30. Stuart Symington (D., Mo.)

Jean Paul Bradshaw (R) Springfield lawyer 58 general counsel and senior vice president of Ozark Air Lines. Bradshaw says Symington has displayed "98 percent ADA left wing voting record in Senate." He is an effective campaigner and has adequate campaign financing He is certain to cut in sharply in the plurality of Symingtons votes in 1958.

31. Ross Bass (D., Tenn.)

Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R)



32. Sen. John J. Williams (R., Del.)

Governor Elbert N. Carvel (D) 54 (

33. Ralph W. Yarborough (D., Tex.)

Oilman George Bush (R) 39, son of former Prescott Bush (R., Conn. 1952-63) has the support of many of the state's Republican leaders and is regarded as the "most moderate conservative" in the race. He is the only Republican candidate who does not advocate unilateral withdrawal from the UN by the U.S.

34. Stephen M. Young (D., Ohio)

Rep. Robert Taft, Jr. (R A-L) son of the late Sen. Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio 1939-53) and a grandson of President William Howard Taft (R. 1909-13). These family credentials, plus his years of service in the U.S. House, make Taft a strong favorite despite right-wing accusations of liberal deviations in his generally conservative voting record.

35. Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D., N.J.)

Barnard M. Shanley (R) 60, former appointment secretary to President Eisenhower. He has made no statements on any issues but deplors the present state of affairs in every country and area known; deplors NATO, Southeast Asia is lost, upset about Gen. deGaulle; deplors everything but has no stated remedy. Maintains there are only two main issues of the campaign 1) foreign policy and 2) Bobby Baker. While working with Eisenhower he tried to smear Governor Minor for his ADA associations. He is a multi-millionaire and that is probably why the party is running him as Rep. party is not well off in NJ. Williams has only his own salary for resource Williams is the first Democrat Senator since 1936 and there has never been a Dem. Senator who was elected twice in succession. The race may be very close and hard, especially since Williams will be tied up in Congress for about another month while Shanley is campaigning.

The presidential Campaign could have a marked influence on this race.....

HOUSE

1. John V. Lindsay (R., NY)

1) Mrs. Eleanor Clark French (D) and liberal

2. Bradford Mose (R., Mass)

or 2) Kieran O'Doherty - conservative party

1) Andrew Benson (D) or  
2) George Arvanitis (D)

3. Ralph Harding (D. Idaho)

George Hanson (R)



EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING AGENDA  
August 21, 7:30 p.m.

- I. Financial and Administrative Reports
  1. July statement (attached)
  2. Political Contributions to date
  3. Direct Mail #5: Summary Report (attached)
  4. Miscellaneous Mailings: Summary Report (attached)
  
- II. Report on MLF (Feld)
  1. Senators Letter
  2. Scientists Letter
  
- III. Preliminary discussion of Implementing Action Program
  1. Conversion - Barber's proposal
  2. U.S. Policy towards China. A possible paper  
(see attached letter - Lewis)
  3. East-West Trade - A possible paper  
(see attached paper - Dyer)
  4. Arms Control Seminar proposal  
(see attached letter - Silard)
  5. Study Paper - Frank
  
- IV. Preliminary discussion of Fall Political Support



BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

August 22 - 23

I. Additions to the Board (Doering)

II. Fall Political Support

1. Further support for candidates presently being recommended, plus additional candidates.

Attachments:

List of Senate and selected House races  
Voting Records of Incumbents  
Information on Contenders

2. The kinds of appeals to be made

III. Implementing the Action Program



## KEY SENATE VOTES SINCE 1959

### 1959

1. Table move to consider change in Senate rule 22 (on cloture). Agreed to 60-36 (D 40-22; R 20-14) Jan. 9.
2. McClellan "Bill of Rights" amendment to protect union members against unfair actions by their unions. Agreed to 47-46 (D 15-44; R 32-2) April 22.
3. Permit state labor agencies or state courts to handle labor disputes declined by the NLRB. Rejected 39-52 (D 16-43; R 23-9) April 23.
4. Reduce military assistance authorization from \$1.6 billion to \$1.3 billion. Agreed to 52-41 (D 40-19; R 12-22) July 7.
5. Boost Army procurement funds \$234 million for modernizing equipment. Rejected 43-48 (D 40-19; R 3-29) July 13.
6. Liberalize pension program for veterans, their widows and children. Agreed to 75-20 (D 55-8; R 20-12) Aug. 12.
7. Passage of second housing bill over veto. Failed to pass 58-36 (D 52-9; R 6-27) (63 "yeas" needed to override) Sept. 4.
8. Revised fiscal 1960 public works appropriation. Passed over veto 72-23 (D 60-2; R 12-21) (64 "yeas" needed to override) Sept. 10.

### 1960

1. Table motion to reconsider vote rejecting amendment to authorize aid for school construction, teachers' salaries. Agreed to 44-44 (D 16-40; R 28-4), Feb. 3. (Vice President Nixon voted "yea" to break tie).
2. Table amendment to pending administration civil rights bill to add Part III, empowering Attorney General to seek injunctions to protect any civil right. Agreed to 55-38 (D 34-28; R 21-10), March 10.
3. Table amendment to provide court-appointed referees or Presidentially appointed enrollment officers to register persons after a court has found a pattern or practice of discrimination. Agreed to 51-43 (D 27-35; R 24-8), March 24.
4. Authorize federal loans and grants for depressed areas. Passage over President's veto. Failed to pass 45-39 (D 40-14; R 5-25), May 24.
5. Freeze wheat price supports at 75 percent of parity and cut acreage by 20 percent. Passed 44-36 (D 32-19; R 12-17), June 9.
6. Repeal 4 percent tax credit allowed on dividend income. Agreed to 42-41 (D 39-12; R 3-29), June 20.
7. Reduce the number of new workers to be covered by the minimum wage laws. Rejected 39-56 (D 19-44; R 20-12), Aug. 17.
8. Medical benefits financed by an increase in the Social Security payroll tax. Rejected 44-51 (D 43-19; R 1-32), Aug. 23.

### 1961

1. Kill a proposal to revise rule 22 to enable three-fifths of the Senators voting (instead of two-thirds) to invoke cloture. Agreed to 50-46 (D 32-31; R 18-15), Jan. 11.
2. Require regular Congressional appropriations, rather than direct Treasury financing, for three area redevelopment funds. Rejected 45-49 (D 16-47; R 29-2), March 14.
3. Administration's emergency feed grains program of 1961. Report agreed to 58-31 (D 47-9; R 11-22), March 22.
4. Restrict extension of minimum wage coverage. Rejected 39-56 (D 20-43; R 19-13), April 19.
5. Authorize \$2,550,000,000 in grants to states for public schools and teachers' salaries. Passed 49-34 (D 41-12; R 8-22), May 25.
6. Adopt report, authorizing \$4.88 billion in housing programs over four years. Agreed to 53-38 (D 48-11; R 5-27), June 28.
7. Require each state to repay advances under the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act solely from taxes imposed within that state, rather than use "pooling" principle. Rejected 42-44 (D 16-39; R 26-5), March 16.

8. Deny funds for electric generating facilities for Hanford reactor. Rejected 36-54 (D 11-48; R 25-6), July 18.
9. Require annual appropriations for the Development Loan Fund. Rejected 39-56 (D 16-46; R 23-10), Aug. 11.
10. Require employers of Mexican laborers to pay state or U.S.-type wages. Agreed to 42-40; (D 34-20; R 8-20), Sept. 11.
11. Extend the impacted areas programs for one year instead of two. Rejected 40-45 (D 35-21; R 5-24), Sept. 12.
12. Motion to invoke cloture on debate on a motion to consider a resolution changing the Senate rules to limit debate. Rejected 37-43 (D 26-28; R 11-15), Sept. 19.

### 1962

1. Discharge from committee a bill to place Urban Affairs and Housing Department at Cabinet level. Rejected 42-58 (R 4-32; D 38-26), Feb. 20.
2. Invoke cloture on bill requiring that anyone with a sixth-grade education must be passed in a literacy test to vote in federal elections. Rejected 42-52 (R 11-22; D 31-30), May 14.
3. Amendment to create a permanent supply-management program for feed grains. Agreed to 46-37 (R 0-29; D 46-8), May 24.
4. Authorize \$750 million for a stand-by public works program. Agreed to 37-36 (R 0-29; D 37-7), May 28.
5. Bar all foreign aid, including farm surpluses, to any Communist or Marxist-dominated country. Agreed to 57-24 (R 23-6; D 34-18), June 6.
6. Permit the President under certain circumstances to sell or give surplus food to Communist countries. Agreed to 56-34 (R 19-15; D 37-19), June 7.
7. Motion to table (kill) revision to provide medical care for the aged under Social Security. Adopted 52-48 (R 31-5; D 21-43), July 17.
8. Invoke cloture to shut off debate on Communications Satellite Act. Agreed to 63-27 (R 34-2; D 29-25), Aug. 14.
9. Delete from tax bill a provision for 20 percent withholding of dividend-interest payments and insert a requirement that corporations report dividend-interest payments in excess of \$10 per person per year. Agreed to 66-20 (R 32-1; D 34-19), Aug. 29.
10. Amendment to Trade Expansion Act to restore "peril point" procedure. Rejected 38-40 (R 25-0; D 13-40), Sept. 18.
11. Increase foreign aid assistance funds by \$785 million. Agreed to 47-28 (R 14-12; D 33-16), Oct. 1.

### 1963

1. Modify rule 22 (cloture) to permit three-fifths of Senators present and voting to limit debate. Rejected 54-42 (R 18-15; D 36-27), Feb. 7.
2. Mass Transportation Act, authorizing \$375 million for state and local programs. Passed 52-41 (R 6-24; D 46-17), April 4.
3. Establish Youth Employment Program and Youth Conservation Corps. Passed 50-34 (R 7-20; D 43-14), April 10.
4. Increase area redevelopment aid by \$455.5 million. Passed 65-30 (R 12-21; D 53-9), June 26.
5. Table (kill) amendment prohibiting use of federal funds to construct segregated hospitals. Agreed to 44-37 (R 1-24; D 43-13), Aug. 7.
6. Establish National Service Corps, authorize \$15 million for two years. Passed 47-44 (R 3-28; D 44-16), Aug. 14.
7. Establish seven-man arbitration board to resolve railroad work-rules dispute. Passed 90-2 (R 29-1; D 61-1), Aug. 27.
8. Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Ratified 80-19 (R 25-8; D 55-11), Sept. 24.
9. Cut development loans for fiscal 1964 to \$950 million, repeal standing authorization for loans for fiscal 1965 and 1966. Accepted 42-40 (R 13-11; D 29-29), Nov. 5.
10. Modify Senate restrictions on aid to "aggressor" nations. Rejected 32-46 (R 4-23; D 28-23), Nov. 7.
11. Reduce NASA funds by \$90 million. Agreed to 40-39 (R 18-8; D 22-31), Nov. 20.



## Governorship Outlook

Democrats currently hold 33, Republicans 17 of the 50 Governorships. Recent years have witnessed a major turnover in Governors' seats in each election, but little change in the strong Democratic majority.

Twenty-five Governorships -- 18 now Democratic, 7 Republican -- are up in 1964. An even split of the 10 Doubtful seats would produce a 2-seat Republican gain.

The current outlook:\*\*

**Safe Democratic (2 seats):** Florida (Bryant\*), Texas Connally).

**Leaning Democratic (9 seats):** Arkansas (Faubus), Iowa (Hughes), Missouri (Dalton\*), Nebraska (Morrison), New Hampshire (King), New Mexico (Campbell), North Carolina (Sanford\*), Washington (Rosellini), West Virginia (Barron\*).

**Doubtful (10 seats):** Delaware (Carvel D\*), Illinois (Kerner D), Indiana (Welsh\* D), Massachusetts (Peabody D), Montana (Babcock R), North Dakota (Guy D), Rhode Island (Chafee R), Utah (Clyde R\*), Vermont (Hoff D), Wisconsin (Reynolds D).

**Leaning Republican (3 seats):** Kansas (Anderson\*), Michigan (Romney), South Dakota (Gubbrud\*).

**Safe Republican (1 seat):** Arizona (Fannin).

## Senate Outlook

The 100-Member Senate currently numbers 67 Democrats to 33 Republicans. In 1964, 35 seats -- 26 now Democratic, 9 Republican -- are at stake. Despite their apparently vulnerable position, Democrats appear assured of retaining their heavy majority. If the six seats currently classified as Doubtful were split evenly, the GOP would gain only one seat.

The breakdown:\*\*

**Safe Democratic (11 seats):** Florida (Holland), Massachusetts (Kennedy), Mississippi (Stennis), Montana (Mansfield), Nevada (Cannon), Rhode Island (Pastore), Tennessee (Gore and Walters\*), Virginia (Byrd), Washington (Jackson), West Virginia (Byrd).

**Leaning Democratic (11 seats):** California (Engle\*), Connecticut (Dodd), Maine (Muskie), Maryland (Beall R), Michigan (Hart), Minnesota (McCarthy), Missouri (Symington), New Jersey (Williams), Oklahoma (Edmondson), Texas (Yarborough), Wisconsin (Proxmire).

**Doubtful (6 seats):** Hawaii (Fong R), Indiana (Hartke D), New Mexico (Mechem R), North Dakota (Burdick D), Utah (Moss D), Wyoming (McGee D).

**Leaning Republican (3 seats):** New York (Keating), Ohio (Young D), Pennsylvania (Scott).

**Safe Republican (4 seats):** Arizona (Goldwater), Delaware (Williams), Nebraska (Hruska), Vermont (Frouty).

It is interesting to note that among the Senators up for re-election, only interim appointee Herbert S. Walters (D Tenn.) and ailing Clair Engle (D Calif.) are voluntarily retiring in 1964. In addition, not a single Senate Committee chairman appears to face a difficult re-election battle.

The few Republicans who were able to withstand the 1958 Democratic landslide appear to be in a good position to win re-election with the possible exception of Sen.

\*Indicates officeholder retiring, or, in the cases of several Governors, ineligible to succeed himself.

\*\* Classifications refer to party control only. The state-by-state rundown shows the states in which incumbents have serious primary opposition.

J. Glenn Beall (R Md.) and possibly Sen. Hiram L. Fong (R) in politically volatile Hawaii. The other Republican Senate seat in the Doubtful class, that of Sen. Edwin L. Mechem (R N.M.), is held by appointment.

## House Outlook

All 435 Members of the House are up for election in 1964. CQ's mid-spring district-by-district national analysis suggested there might be little change in the current House ratio of 257 Democrats to 178 Republicans -- unless President Johnson should sweep the country, increasing the already large Democratic majority. The outlook, as of April 28:

	National	East	South	Midwest	West
Safe Democratic	195	51	85	34	25
Leaning Democratic	45	9	18	8	10
Doubtful	38	9	7	11	11
Leaning Republican	30	7	4	16	3
Safe Republican	127	46	5	56	20

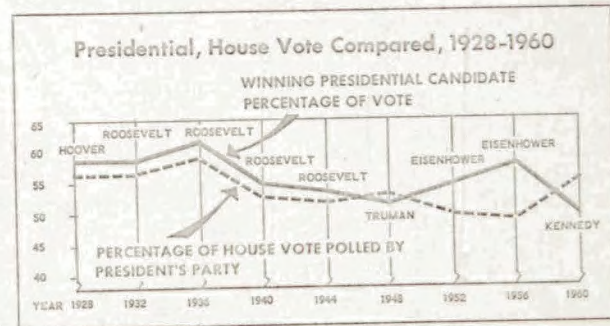
Following is a table showing the Present House lineup, the CQ spring Outlook based on an even split of the 38 Doubtful seats, and the Highs and Lows for each party assuming the unlikely possibility that either might win all 40 Doubtful seats:

	Present*	Outlook	Low	High
Democrats	257	259	240	278
Republicans	178	176	195	157

In order to control the next House of Representatives, a party must win at least 218 of the 435 seats. Thus, even if the Republican party were to win all the seats currently classified Doubtful, it would fall 23 seats short of the 218 required to organize.

If the Democrats were to take all the Doubtful seats, they would have a total of 278 seats, five less than they held in 1959-60 following the 1958 Democratic national sweep. Some of the 30 seats which Lean Republican could also go Democratic in a sweep, of course, pushing the Democrats up to or beyond their 86th Congress level. The likelihood, however, is that the next House will have a party balance strikingly similar to the one which now exists.

\* Vacancies credited to parties which last held seats.





# Council for a Livable World

## Reports



100 Maryland Avenue, N.E.,  
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## What's Next For The Council

"No society, no governmental apparatus, has given the people of the nuclear weapons states any role in deciding when and where these nuclear weapons may be used, if ever."

Carl Marcy

In this spirit and to this end, the renowned physicist, Leo Szilard, created the Council for a Livable World. He understood the ultimate control of nuclear weapons could depend on the political process; in a democracy that means the people; in a representative democracy that means the people speaking through their representatives in Congress and the President.

The Council's Washington Program is not as susceptible to direct participation by Council Supporters as were the election campaigns. What comes next involves Council legislative work on such subjects as the cruise missile, the command and control of nuclear weapons, the dangers of a plutonium economy, and means to strengthen international controls over the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We will be assisting Senators in developing legislative proposals, preparing witnesses for legislative hearings, testifying ourselves, keeping Senators informed on issues of concern to the Council, and monitoring the performance of Council-supported Senators on crucial votes.

REPORTS will inform you of Council activities, focus attention on pending issues, bring occasional interviews with Senators, provide background articles, occasionally ask for your help on close votes, and acquaint you with the sometimes strange mores of the legislative process.

## Symington On The Bureaucratic Obstacles To Nuclear Arms Control

*Bureaucratic chaos has created a "nuclear mess" in Washington with which the new administration, Congress and the Council must cope.*

Symington (D-Mo.) is the only member of the Senate who has served simultaneously on the Foreign Relations Committee, Armed Services Committee, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee. His unique Senate service, going back to 1952, makes his comments on nuclear problems especially significant. The following analysis was delivered in a farewell address at Harvard University on October 13, 1976.

January 3, 1977



## At the National Level

"In Washington, an ever-expanding network of bureaucracy, with confusion, duplication, and lack of direction makes any real progress in national and international energy planning and control virtually impossible.

"...Executive decision-making in nuclear matters is currently spread among twenty-one different federal agencies and councils.

"No agency is sure how it fits in, or just what is its actual authority.

"As . . . illustration of how the mess develops, consider the 1974 reactor offer to both Israel and Egypt. Even though the AEC (ERDA's predecessor), the Defense Department, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency . . . should have played major roles, the State Department apparently was the only agency involved in evaluating this complex and controversial affair.

"In the Congress nuclear matters are divided among at least nineteen committees in the House and Senate. Many . . . have overlapping interests; again, with little or no true coordination and a good deal of competition . . .

"The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has . . . a major role in overseeing our domestic nuclear problems; but has given relatively little attention to the growing problem of nuclear exports and nuclear proliferation.

"... Other Congressional committees, particularly the Government Operations Committee, have had open hearings and initiated legislation on nuclear export and non-proliferation policy.

"Another committee, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which presumably has responsibility for reviewing all treaties and agreements, under present rules and regulations does not even receive nuclear agreements, let alone review them . . ."

## At the International Level

"Countries which supply nuclear equipment and materials have been unable to agree upon a common set of rules to ensure that nuclear energy will be safeguarded for peaceful uses.

"The only international agreement in existence which seeks to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons is the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

"... Any member state can withdraw from said Treaty with nuclear weapons practically in hand; in fact, any State can do so formally by giving ninety days notice . . .

"Consider also that several countries apparently on the threshold of having their own nuclear weapons don't even belong to this Treaty.

"The only international organization concerned with ensuring that nuclear materials and equipment are not used for weapons-making is the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), . . . As a regulatory body, however, its authority is severely limited.

"... IAEA inspectors only see what the host country allows them to see. They have no authority to seek out 'undeclared' or clandestine facilities; and the inspection equipment they have is admittedly inadequate.

"Even if the IAEA . . . could monitor thoroughly all nuclear facilities in this world . . . it would still be unable to actually thwart any detected diversion of nuclear material. It can only report, through its Board of Governors, to the United Nations.

"... This Board of Governors includes countries which themselves have taken major steps toward nuclear weapons . . . as Brazil and India.

"That is where we are today from the standpoint of nuclear control; a system of inspection — and a faulty one at that — superimposed upon an otherwise uncontrolled exploitation of nuclear energy by a rapidly growing number of countries."

In light of Senator Symington's observations, a priority task for the new administration will be to proceed rapidly with promised reorganization plans to bring some order to the nuclear chaos in the Executive branch.

First steps are being taken in the Congress to remove the chaotic dispersal of committee responsibility in the nuclear field. Senator Stevenson (D-Ill.), a Council-supported Senator, is a leader in efforts to re-organize the Senate, not only in the nuclear field, by starting with the abolishment of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, but by re-defining the jurisdiction of all Senate Committees. It will be a tough job and, to coin a phrase, Senator Stevenson has some baronies by the tail.



## Lest He Forget

At the United Nations on May 14, 1976, President-elect Carter said,

"... A mutual balance of terror is an inadequate foundation upon which to build a peaceful and stable world order." Carter's emphasis on the problems of nuclear proliferation points toward a more active national policy and new initiatives in this critical area of Council concern.

In San Diego, California on September 25, 1976 President-elect Carter said,

"As President, I will take the following ten steps to control further proliferation:

1. I will call upon all nations to adopt a voluntary moratorium on the national sale or purchase of enrichment or reprocessing plants — a moratorium which should apply retroactively to the recent German-Brazilian and the French-Pakistan agreements.

2. I will make no new commitments for the sale of nuclear technology or fuel to countries which refuse to forgo nuclear explosives, to refrain from national nuclear reprocessing, and to place their nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards.

3. I will seek to withhold authority for domestic commercial reprocessing until the need for, the economics, and the safety of this technology is clearly demonstrated. If we should ever decide to go forward with commercial reprocessing, it should be on a multinational basis.

4. I will call for an international Conference on Energy, to provide a forum in which all nations can focus on the non-proliferation issue. Such a Conference must also explore non-nuclear means of meeting energy demands of other nations so that no state is forced into a premature commitment to atomic power.

5. I will support a strengthening of the safeguards and inspection authority of the IAEA and place all of our own peaceful domestic nuclear facilities under those safeguards.

6. I will seek to renegotiate our existing agreements as a nuclear supplier, many of which were entered into before we began insisting on reprocessing safeguards and which are now inadequate.

7. I will take steps to ensure that the U.S. is once again a reliable supplier of enriched uranium — the fuel for civilian reactors which is

unsuitable for weapons — by supporting enlargement of our government-owned facility.

8. I will explore international initiatives such as multinational enrichment plants and multinational spent fuel storage areas which could provide alternatives to the establishment of enrichment or reprocessing plants on a national basis.

9. I will redirect our own energy research and development efforts to correct the disproportionate emphasis which we have placed on nuclear power at the expense of renewable energy technologies. Our emphasis on the breeder reactor must be converted into a long term, possibly multinational effort.

10. Finally, I will follow through on my belief that the United States can and should negotiate a comprehensive test ban treaty with the Soviet Union, and reduce, through the SALT talks, strategic nuclear forces and technology.

11. I will encourage the Soviet Union to join us in a total ban of all nuclear explosions for at least five years. This ban would include so-called 'peaceful nuclear devices'."

## The New Senators — Who Gets What and Why

*Eighteen freshmen Senators, six of whom were supported by the Council, must now sort out the pecking order in what has been described as the world's greatest deliberative body.*

On January 4, the class of '77 will be sworn in as United States Senators. The impact of the new Senators on the foreign and domestic policies of the United States for the next six years will depend not only on their abilities, their personalities, and their votes, but also on their Committee assignments.

Council President William Doering on November 9 wrote to each new Council-supported Senator: Dennis DeConcini, John Melcher, Howard Metzenbaum, Donald Riegle, James R. Sasser, and Paul S. Sarbanes, congratulating each on his election and calling their attention to vacancies on Senate Committees whose jurisdictions are germane to Council interests:

- Foreign Relations: 3 vacancies (the seats of Mansfield, Symington and McGee)
- Armed Services: 1 vacancy (Symington)
- Appropriations: 4 vacancies (Pastore, McGee, Mansfield, and Montoya)
- Joint Committee on Atomic Energy: 4 vacancies (Pastore, Symington, Montoya and Tunney) [Note: this committee may be abolished.]



Dr. Doering alerted Council supported Senators-elect as to how to make their preferences for Committee assignments known to the Democratic Senate leadership. What happens from now on with respect to a variety of assignments in the Senate depends upon a melange of factors — ranging from the alphabetic ordering of the January class, to the date when the Senator's State was admitted to the Union, to the previous public service of each member, and ultimately to the decision made by the Democratic Steering Committee.

The old seniority rule by which the Senators with the longest continuous service got their pick of Committee assignments has been modified in recent years by the so-called (Lyndon B.) Johnson Rule. This is not much more than an understanding that each freshman Democratic Senator is to get a seat on at least one major Standing Committee. No more is the new Senator, as prior to the Johnson rule, relegated to membership on a minor Committee such as the District of Columbia or Post Office Committee.

Senate Republicans in determining Committee assignments follow the recommendations of their Committee on Committees. Eight Republicans out of 18 new members will therefore be competing for Committee assignments.

*Of particular interest to the Council* will be the selection of the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Organization and Security Agreements (formerly Arms Control and Disarmament). This subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was chaired by retiring Senator Symington. While Senator Symington has not been a "Council-supported" Senator (he didn't need Council help), in recent years he has become a staunch supporter of most Council-favored nuclear and arms control positions. He will be sorely missed. Senator Symington will probably be succeeded as Chairman by either Senator McGovern or Senator Pell, each having received Council support in the past.

## Influencing Congress

*Mass mailings to Members of Congress is big business, but is it effective?*

A thousand letters from constituents, all of which follow the same form, or a thousand identical post-cards, are not effective. Identical pressure letters, if they are answered at all, are likely to be processed by robotypewriter and answered by a prepared

paragraph such as: "I have your letter, and you may be assured I will weigh all points of view before casting my vote. . ."

Two types of letters are most likely to be effective. First is the thoughtful letter on a subject upon which the correspondent has special knowledge and on which he or she can produce evidence of deep concern. For example, "I hope very much, Senator, that you will vote "aye" (or "nay") because . . . You should know that because of my concern with this issue I have been a supporter of the Council for a Livable World and contributed to your campaign (if you did)." The Council has thousands of supporters who can and should write this kind of letter.

The second type of letter which can get results starts out: "Dear Jim (or Jack, or Don, or Mac)," or, in other words, has a personal touch. The Council probably has several hundred supporters who have a personal relationship with some member of the Senate or House.

One other factor to be kept in mind in communicating with members of Congress on policy subjects is timeliness. To write a Senator in January that you expect him to vote to reduce military expenditures by 10% will be forgotten by May when such a proposal may come to a vote.

During the coming sessions of Congress there will be close votes on issues of concern to the Council. We cannot predict with accuracy when these votes will occur; we cannot predict the precise issues. We can predict that, with timely intervention, thoughtful letters, and special personal efforts, we will be able to make more of a difference when the votes are close. Bearing these considerations in mind, and recalling that one reason the Council has been effective in the past is that it has targeted its efforts specifically — whether on Senators or on issues —, we on the Washington Program ask for your help to strengthen the influence of the Council.

What we need in our Washington office is a card file of Council Supporters, who would be willing on the occasion of a few specific issues, to write to selected Senators a thoughtful letter based on knowledge, some of which we can supply.

It would be especially helpful if those Council Supporters who are personally acquainted with members of the Senate or know them well enough to call by phone would so indicate.

If you are willing to be notified a few times during the next session of what seems to us to be critical votes and are willing to give this new approach a try, please fill in the enclosed card and return it to us.

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# World

Peace and Politics

## HARD CASH FROM TENDER MINDS

by Roger M. Williams

In a rare accommodation of academics to politics, the Council for a Livable World finances pivotal Senate campaigns—and gets its men elected.

Like Albert Einstein, the late Leo Szilard was a scientist with a passionate concern for life as well as for science. Szilard, a Hungarian who fled from the Nazis to the United States, was a renowned physicist and the father of the nuclear chain reaction. At the same time he grew increasingly alarmed at the prospect of total war and nuclear destruction. For scientific discoveries such as atomic energy to be turned against mankind was, to him, the prostitution of science.

Szilard knew that this could be prevented only by controlling the cause of it: the political process. So in 1962 he set up, almost singlehanded, a group called the Council for a Livable World. Seldom has a lofty-sounding title been more deceptive. Szilard had no patience with the hand-wringing, credo-issuing organizations so popular among academics. His group would concern itself with the implications of science in the arena of politics. It would undertake political action by making highly selective campaign contributions and by lobbying in Congress in pursuit of its primary goals: an end to the nuclear arms race and greatly scaled-down military expenditures by the major powers. In so doing,

it would demonstrate a pragmatic single-mindedness rare among American liberals.

The Council for a Livable World, now in the hands of Szilard's political followers, has achieved notable and unheralded success. The U. S. Senate, on which the council focuses, is a different place because of it. Twenty-seven members of the current Senate were elected with council help, and virtually all of them have been working actively to promote the goals that the organization espouses.

The council concentrates on the Senate because it reasons, rightly, that a single senator can have greater effect on issues of world peace than can any other individual outside the presidency. It concentrates on small-state Senate races because it reasons, again rightly, that the smaller the campaign budget, the greater the impact of a contribution to it; and as every grammar school student should know, senators from Rhode Island and Delaware—who benefited from council largess last fall—have votes equal to senators from New York and California, who did not.

Actually, the largess comes not from the council itself but from its 13,000 "supporters," political liberals who share the organization's concerns and are willing to make campaign contributions virtually at its direction. The supporters, many of them academics, are concentrated in the large states, so that a Senate race in, say, Colorado will involve few council funds from within that state—and anywhere between \$10,000 and \$50,000 from outside it. Other liberal lobbying groups, such as the National Committee for an Effective Congress, may contribute more money to a given campaign. Few if any contribute so much per supporter, and none does it by the council's direct grass-roots-to-candidate system.

In senatorial election years council supporters receive a series of mailings from the board of directors (who are virtually unknown to them) asking for contributions to the campaign of this or that candidate. The directors are so sure their recommendations will be accepted by the supporters that they control the flow of contributions simply by asking certain alphabetical groupings to send checks to certain candidates. "They are surprisingly good about that," says council board chairman William von E. Doering. "They'll give money to people they haven't heard about, on our recommendation."

If this sounds like a political dreamland, that is what Leo Szilard had in mind. Szilard envisioned a council of 150,000 members willing to contribute 2 per cent of their incomes to political campaigns. That proved unrealistic, but he quickly learned to make the best use of the money he had. For the 1962 campaign the council raised a mere \$50,000. Szilard put \$22,000 of it behind the senatorial candidacy of a young South Dakota professor named McGovern.

Since then the council's contributions have ballooned—to \$375,000 in 1968. In 1972 the total was \$232,000, a figure that political pros consider remarkable since the McGovern campaign was siphoning off most of the available "liberal money."

While the council has not produced any other presidential candidates, it has undeniably altered the composition of the Senate. Perhaps many of the council-backed senators would have been elected anyway, but it is important to note that the organization does not contribute to a campaign unless the outcome is in doubt; it does not back obvious winners or obvious losers, no matter how nobly progressive they are. Two other criteria are used: the candidate's need for financial support (no Kennedys need apply) and the nature of his opposition; although Democrat Joseph Clark had received support in earlier races for the Senate, he did not get it in 1968, because the council considered his Republican opponent, Richard Schweiker, equally sound on the critical issues. Thus far the council has backed only five Republicans, for the simple and predictable reason that Democrats more frequently meet its criteria.

Although the council's office is in Washington, D.C., its chief operatives are clustered in the intellectual environs of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Almost all of them are academics, and most are old associates of Szilard. President Bernard T. Feld, a physics professor at MIT, worked with Szilard on the Manhattan Project. Board member Maurice S. Fox, a genetics professor at the same institution, worked with him on other projects; so did Chairman Doering, who is a chemistry professor at Harvard. Board member James G. Patton, president emeritus of the National Farmer's Union, knew Szilard through the campaign to wrest control of atomic energy from the military. Feld and Doering form the core of the council's leadership, together with two other Cambridge neighbors: Roger Fisher, Harvard Law School professor and creator of "The Advocates" on



public television; and Allan Forbes, Jr., self-trained anthropologist and producer of documentary films. It is a highly accomplished group that shares an updated Szilardian view of world affairs.

Obviously the council's thousands of supporters do not subscribe to that view *in toto*, but they do believe, as Feld expresses it, "that there remains a grave danger of nuclear disaster, that the policies of the United States are a major part of the problem, and that the one place where concerned citizens can have a real impact on it is the Senate—the only check and balance that remains in the international field."

The council's other major activity, besides supporting senatorial candidates, is lobbying. Again, the arena is the Senate, and the method is distinct. The council brings to Washington an array of authorities on the subject at issue and makes them available to senators. It finds that many senators are confused on complex matters of defense policy and that they welcome both the clarification and anti-administration point of view that the council's experts can provide.

AMONG POLITICIANS, the council has a reputation for low-key but persuasive presentations of its cases, and it has been instrumental in winning Senate victories on a number of hard-fought issues—the test-ban treaty, the extension of the life of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the defeat of the Multilateral Nuclear Force. The council's greatest lobbying effort came in opposition to the Sentinel anti-ballistic-missile system. The system survived in the Senate by only one vote, and political observers credit the council with being the most effective contributor to the narrowness of the margin. Its ABM activities began in 1964 and continued right up to the time the climactic vote was taken, five years later. By its calculation forty-one of the fifty senators who voted against deployment of the ABM had participated in council-sponsored seminars.

A list of senators whose campaigns have been supported by the council reads like a liberal *Who's Who* in the upper chamber. McGovern has received money twice; so have Philip Hart, William Fulbright, Clifford Case, and a few others. Edward Brooke was assisted in 1966, the year he crossed the Senate's color line, and Thomas Eagleton in 1968, four years before he became famous as the vice-president who never was. Alabama's John Sparkman, no liberal on most domestic issues, was given \$2500 in 1966 to help fend off a challenge by an archconservative Republican. While the council cannot flatly claim credit for the victories of these or other candidates, its officials believe that council funds

made the difference in several of them—Frank Moss and Gale McGee in 1964, Mark Hatfield and Lee Metcalf in 1966, perhaps Fulbright in the Democratic primary in 1968. (Wyoming's McGee has become an embarrassment to the council—"an outrageous hawk on the war," as one official puts it.)

IN THE 1972 CAMPAIGNS the council supported more than a half-dozen first-time candidates for the Senate: Joseph Biden in Delaware, William Hathaway in Maine, Dick Clark in Iowa, Floyd Haskell in Colorado, William Davis in Idaho, David Pryor in Arkansas, and James Abourezk in South Dakota. Most of them were newcomers to national politics, and all save Abourezk were considered underdogs. Yet with the exception of Davis and Pryor—who lost in a close primary race against the powerful Sen. John McClellan—all of them won. So did two council-aided incumbents who encountered stiff opposition: Montana's Metcalf and Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island. Contributions to these campaigns generated by the council ranged between \$18,000 and \$50,000. The totals were not so significant as what they represented as a proportion of individual campaign costs. Of the slightly more than \$200,000 spent by Hathaway, for example, \$27,000 came via the good offices of the council. Further, in almost every case, money came when it was most needed in an underdog's campaign—early.

"They were a great, great help," says Claiborne Pell of the council-inspired contributions to his campaign, "all the more so because they came in early. That enabled us to plan and make commitments at the outset, when that should be done." The council provided important advice as well: On the recommendation of its staff members, Pell retained television image-maker Charles Guggenheim, whose work became an important factor in the Pell victory.

From time to time, council support has itself been an issue. The opponents of several council-aided candidates have referred darkly to "outside money," and such conservative spokesmen as columnist Holmes Alexander and Spiro Agnew have characterized the group as one that seeks, in Alexander's phrase, to "see America stand naked to her enemies." During the 1964 campaign, several Republican candidates attacked their Dem-

ocratic opponents for receiving council funds. One of their pieces of ammunition was a report by "a group of Senators and their staffs" alleging that the council's goals included "turning this country into a fourth-rate power at the mercy of the international wolf pack."

In last year's Rhode Island race, Republican John Chafee charged that Pell's acceptance of council support signaled his abandonment of the *Trident* submarine project, an economic sacred cow in the state. (Several thousand Rhode Islanders work on the project at the General Dynamics boatyard in Groton, Connecticut.) Pell rebutted the charge by saying that he favors *Trident* despite the council's opposition to it. The fact that he was able to take such a stand and obtain council support demonstrates the organization's non-dogmatic approach. "It understands the practical problems of being a liberal and staying in office," says Pell's administrative assistant, Paul Goulding.

The council's top men respond with a tolerant chuckle to suggestions that they are amateurs dabbling in the business of getting people elected to statewide office. "There are actually very few pros in politics," says Bernie Feld. "Anyway, after working at this for ten years, I know a little something. We get advice from other people, but we make all the final decisions ourselves on who we're going to support." (The decisions can be puzzling. Last year the council board turned down an appeal from a moderate North Carolina Democrat, Nick Galifianakis, who was staging an uphill fight against an archconservative Republican candidate, Jesse Helms. Galifianakis, the board members felt, wasn't "impressive"—so Helms was left to in effect cancel one of the council's liberal victories.)

Although delighted by last fall's results, council officials anticipate a difficult time in 1974. "The Senate races should be bloody," says William Doering. "Nixon and Agnew will be out raising hell to try to make up for last year's defeats." And the liberal senatorial candidates, newcomers and incumbents, will be looking to a group of academics, a scattering of trusting contributors, and the spirit of Leo Szilard to help them repulse the assault. □

World 2/27/73



# Council for a Livable World

August 14, 1973

Dear Council Supporter,

This note is a reminder to those of you who haven't replied as yet to our letter of 13 July and an expression of thanks to those of you who have.

We are witnessing today the fruits of a decade of efforts by Council Supporters to strengthen the Senate. At what may well have been the eleventh hour, the Senate has stepped in to try to restore the balance on which our democratic system depends.

The struggle is between an executive branch subverted by persons of power--persons whose identity in some instances is just coming to light--and a legislative branch within which the barest majority has succeeded in uniting to counteract and seek redress.

To this quiet reminder of the disproportionate burden your awareness of the crisis places on you, I will add a few paragraphs from Richard Crossman's personal view on "The Wartime Tactics that Led to Watergate" printed in the London Times, 16 May 1973.\* This analysis of the crisis provides a clear insight into the changes which have occurred in the government of the United States since World War II and makes it easier to understand what The Council has been attempting to accomplish during its eleven years of action in Washington.

He opens with an observation by Neil Sheehan of the New York Times, made when the Pentagon Papers first came into his office.

"It was as if there were an inner United States Government, a centralized State, far more powerful than anything else, for whom the enemy is not simply the Communists but everything else, its own press, its own judiciary, its own Congress...It does not function necessarily for the benefit of the Republic, but rather for its own ends, its own perpetuation; it has its own codes, codes which are quite different from public codes. Secrecy is a way of protecting itself, not so much from threats by foreign governments, but from detection by its own population."



Crossman then writes:

"This inner government is, of course, a necessary apparatus of total war; and the best paid and most attractive of its departments are those which deal with covert operations in which we British have always excelled...(In World War II,) we trained a small army of gifted amateurs for all the dirtiest tricks from lying, bugging, forging, and embezzlement to sheer murder--all of course, in the cause of preserving the democratic way of life....

The Americans...never learned from us to play it as a game and give it up when the war was over....It was only a matter of time before the wartime experts were being employed by business firms and by political parties against their rivals....

So the politicians of both parties came to rely on the authoritarian inner government and the covert operators, and most of the time they sit on top of it without being able to control it. Watergate is the first time a corner of the curtain of secrecy has been jerked aside and ordinary Americans have been able to see a little of what goes on behind it."

Crossman makes a chilling comment:

"I believe Mr. Brezhnev felt more at home with Mr. Nixon than with any other American he had met because here at last was a man of his own kind, an apparatchik--a creature of a political machine which in some respects is beginning to resemble his own Russian apparatus of bureaucratic power.

Mr. Brezhnev takes for granted that the man in control of a modern State machine will, of course, employ all the Watergate techniques against his opponents. As for the horrors of Vietnam, there is nothing here--except failure--to upset the man who sent the Russian tanks into Prague. Mutual confidence is far easier between two birds of a feather such as Nixon and Brezhnev than if by some freak of fortune a genuine Liberal got into the White House.

...I can't help remembering that the United States was created by free men who rejected the dictatorship and power politics of the Old World...But...the kind of centralized bureaucracy and secret departments required by the government of a superpower are incompatible not only with the American Constitution but also with the American tradition of freedom. A Communist superpower makes sense because Communism is a totalitarian creed. The lesson of Vietnam and now of Watergate is that an American superpower is a contradiction in terms."




If The Council's work ever needed a justification, it is provided by the emergence of this ominously threatening "inner government", by the rising into view, step by shocking step, of the iceberg of which it is so frequently said, "Watergate is the tip". What further trials and anguish our people will have to endure before the iceberg is melted away into the river of history, will be determined by how each individual American citizen acts now.

Only the Congress as the elected voice of the people has the potential strength and power to reverse "the effort to transform the Republic into a militarized superstate" and to return us to our constitutional democracy. We must all continue to give our full support to those determined, principled Senators who are engaged in the struggle, especially to those who will stand for reelection next year; we must also seek out and offer our assistance to persons of like courage and mind who are planning to try for election to the Senate for the first time. We must keep making it possible for concerned, knowledgeable citizens to come to Washington and have their voices heard.

This is what The Council has been all about since its founding. Its purpose and mode of action is more important now than ever before. It is no time for apathy, despair or resignation. It is the time to help The Council, and through it to help ourselves, lay this "inner government" to rest so that we can all get back to work on the formidable problems of creating a more livable world.

Yours sincerely,



William Doering  
President

P.S. If you would enjoy a copy of Crossman's views in their entirety, please send a request to The Council office.

WED:mh

\*CROSSMAN, Rt. Hon. Richard Howard Stafford

British politician and journalist; b. 15 Dec. 1907, London; educ. Winchester and New College, Oxford. Deputy-dir. Psychological Warfare AF.H.Q. Algiers 43 and SHAEF 44-45; Labour M.P. for Coventry East, 45-; Mem. Labour Party Exec. Comm. 52-67; Minister of Housing and Local Gov't 64-66; Lord Pres. of The Council and Leader of the House of Commons, 66-Oct. 68; Editor, New Statesmen and Nation 70-72.



## THE WARTIME TACTICS THAT LED TO WATERGATE

Personal view by Richard Crossman

I do not know which is sillier--to go on trying to pretend that Mr. Nixon is an American Macmillan in trouble with a clutch of Profumos, or to sit in judgment on him for defiling the purity of American machine politics. Mr. Peter Jenkins was right to remind us in The Guardian on Monday that Mr. Nixon has conducted some of the dirtiest election campaigns in recent history. But that is not the real trouble. What Watergate let off was an explosion of disillusionment with the American government and all it stands for, which has been boiling up ever since Vietnam began to go wrong.

I have just come across a remark by Neil Sheehan, of the New York Times, which seems to me to get near the heart of the matter. He made it when the Pentagon Papers first came into his newspaper office and he had to read them through. "My main impression," he observed, "was that the government of the United States was not what I thought it was; it was as if there were an inner United States Government, a centralized State, far more powerful than anything else, for whom the enemy is not simply the Communists but everything else, its own press, its own judiciary, its own Congress . . . It does not function necessarily for the benefit of the Republic, but rather for its own ends, its own perpetuation; it has its own codes, codes which are quite different from public codes. Secrecy is a way of protecting itself, not so much from threats by foreign governments, but from detection by its own population."

This inner government is, of course, a necessary apparatus of total war; and the best paid and most attractive of its departments are those which deal with covert operations in which we British have always excelled. Indeed, apart from the RAF success at pioneering the firestorm which cooked 50,000 Hamburgers and 150,000 Dresdeners alive while officially claiming we were bombing military targets, subversive operations and black propaganda were the only aspects of war at which we achieved real preeminence. We trained a small army of gifted amateurs for all the dirtiest tricks from lying, bugging, forging and embezzlement to sheer murder--all, of course, in the cause of preserving the democratic way of life. We taught them how to organize a black market, how to win friends in order to betray them, and how to persuade a stubborn prisoner to come clean with the vital information he possessed.

The Americans adored subversion, but they were too heavy-handed and they never learned from us to play it as a game and give it up when the war was over. Whereas here the secret departments withered away harmlessly, in America they multiplied and found plenty of opportunity in Korea and Vietnam, not to mention the Dominican Republic and Guatemala. It was only a matter of time before the wartime experts were being employed by business firms and by political parties against their rivals. As for the inner central government in Washington, how could it fail to employ these techniques against anyone who obstructed it when the United States was engaged in a cold war against the Communist enemy who regularly used every kind of dirty trick?

So the politicians of both parties came to rely on the authoritarian inner government and the covert operators, and most of the time they sit on top of it without being able to control it. Watergate is the first time a corner of the curtain of secrecy has been jerked aside and ordinary Americans have been able to see a little of what goes on behind it. What effect would all this have on Mr. Nixon's peace offensives in Peking and Moscow? None whatsoever, provided only that the President regains control. I believe Mr. Brezhnev felt more at home with Mr. Nixon than with any other American he had met because here at last was a man of his own kind, an apparatchik--a creature of a political machine which in some respects is beginning to resemble his own Russian apparatus of bureaucratic power.

Mr. Brezhnev takes for granted that the man in control of a modern State machine will, of course, employ all the Watergate techniques against his opponents. As for the horrors of Vietnam, there is nothing here--except failure--to upset the man who sent the Russian tanks into Prague. Mutual confidence is far easier between two birds of a feather such as Nixon and Brezhnev than if by some freak of fortune a genuine Liberal got into the White House.

Nevertheless, I personally hope that the "worst" happens and that the Watergate affair does irreparable damage to the inner government in Washington. I can't help remembering that the United States was created by free men who rejected the dictatorship and power politics of the Old World. It remained a wonderful place, so long as it was selfishly dedicated to its neutralist ideals and had to be dragged into war in defence of freedom. Since 1945, an attempt has been made to reshape this isolationist democracy as a superpower capable of replacing the Pax Britannica by the Pax Americana. In the early years of the Marshall Plan, the attempt seemed to be succeeding. But since then it has failed because the kind of centralized bureaucracy and secret departments required by the government of a superpower are incompatible not only with the American Constitution but also with the American tradition of freedom. A Communist superpower makes sense because Communism is a totalitarian creed. The lesson of Vietnam and now of Watergate is that an American superpower is a contradiction in terms.

If public feeling is strong enough to cause a liberal purge in Washington, we can be sure that Nixon's successor will turn his back on Europe as well as on Asia. And a good thing, too. In his first reaction to Watergate, Mr. Heath on Monday gave us a vision of the United States and the European Community as "twin pillars of a revived and invigorated Atlantic alliance." I wonder. Since the Russians will be concerned with the Chinese threat for the next 20 years, there has ceased to be a military threat to Europe and the case, therefore, for an Atlantic alliance and an American army in Germany has disappeared. Even if it had not, I would rather see a liberal America returning to its neutral tradition than a continuance of the effort to transform the Republic into a militarized superstate.



# Council for a Livable World

Dear Council Supporter,

Now we come to the irony of Watergate. Many current office holders are in trouble--the splash from Watergate is hitting everyone in Washington, including many incumbent Senators supported by the Council.

Council research confirms the findings of composite polls that Americans are also generally distrustful of all public officials, not just the Nixon team that brought them Watergate.

As one observer put it: "If this polling information is borne out, a number of highly regarded political figures of both parties in this country will go down to defeat--simply because they are in office, and their opponents are not."

Voters see revelations of bugging, smears, and vote-buying as elements common to government officials now in Washington, and a "spread effect" is at work at the grass roots.

If this "spread" continues, many current members of the Senate up for re-election next fall will be in trouble with the voters--no matter what their record. This is bad news for some of the Council favorites, and we must act now to counter this ironic turn of events.

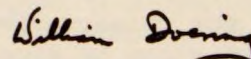
The Council for a Livable World has decided to move quickly to support an initial slate of four Senate candidates who may face this problem. We are immediately backing--Church of Idaho, Ribicoff of Connecticut, Bayh of Indiana, and Stevenson of Illinois. Their profiles appear in the following pages. Please study them--carefully--and remember, they'll be depending on public-spirited contributors, not Howard Hughes or IT&T.

All are incumbent Senators. All had nothing to do with Watergate. Each is well known for integrity, fair campaigning, and a long record of progressive leadership in the Senate. None deserves to be swept away in the wave of voter alienation now flooding the country.

The conservative challengers have still not announced their candidacies. They are staying underground hoping to put as much time as possible between Watergate and their campaign announcements. This precious lead time is the traditional organizing period when a challenger tests his chances through polls, fund-raising, and building a state-wide campaign organization.

This waiting period offers us only a slight advantage, and in this year of political disasters, we'd better grab it. This year--more than any other year--if we're complacent about incumbents, we may lose some of the best Senators we ever had. Please be generous in your contribution--especially now, when it counts the most.

Sincerely,



William Doering  
President





*"We have a chance now after all these years...to cut off funds and force an end to our part in the war...to do it for all of Indochina and bring peace at last."*

SENATOR CHURCH of Idaho

June 29, 1973

Washington, D.C.

Before the United States Senate

Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) is without question one of the most capable and eloquent members of the U.S. Senate. First elected in 1956 at the age of 32, Church is now the third ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. If re-elected, he will some day serve as the committee's chairman, continuing the distinguished record of the committee under its present chairman, Senator William Fulbright.

Church took an early stand against the Vietnam war--despite the extreme unpopularity of that position in Idaho at the time. Church was largely responsible for congressional passage of the two Cooper-Church amendments, which prohibited American combat troops from entering Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand. After the cease-fire in January, he introduced the Case-Church bill, to halt the bombing of Cambodia and to bar any future American military activity in Southeast Asia unless specifically authorized by Congress. Approved by the Senate on June 29, it was this amendment that ended American military involvement in Indochina.

As Chairman of the Multinational Corporations Subcommittee, Church conducted the recent hearings on attempts by IT&T to subvert the 1970 election of Salvador Allende in Chile through CIA intervention. The Idaho Senator has also censured existing foreign aid programs which, in his words, have "propped up dictatorships, enriched the already rich and further impoverished the already poor."

Senator Church is well known in Idaho for his stands on national and international issues and for his careful attention to the needs of his state. From his position as a ranking member of the Senate Interior Committee, he has built an outstanding record in the field of conservation. As Chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, he has authored extensive legislation to help the elderly.

Campaigns for conservatives in Idaho have little trouble obtaining funding, and the right wing can be expected to launch a major effort to unseat Senator Church.

Your check should be made out to the *IDAHO FOR CHURCH COMMITTEE*.





*"I know that amending the Constitution is an awesome responsibility that I do not take lightly."*

SENATOR BAYH of Indiana

September 24, 1973  
Washington, D.C.  
Statement before the Sub-  
committee on Constitutional  
Amendments

In his second term in the U. S. Senate, Birch Bayh has established himself as one of the Senate's outstanding constitutional authorities. He believes in telling people what they need to know, rather than what they might like to hear. Change invariably produces controversy but Senator Bayh has gone ahead to write and guide to passage the 25th Amendment which provides for presidential and vice-presidential succession. He also led the successful effort for passage of the 26th Amendment which lowered the voting age to 18; and sponsored and secured passage of the 27th Amendment to guarantee Equal Rights for men and women.

Currently, Senator Bayh has renewed his efforts to do away with the electoral college, believing that direct popular election of the President and Vice President is more representative of the will of the people.

On arms control, Bayh supported the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Senate Resolution calling for a cessation of U.S. and USSR test flights of MIRV.

This year, the Senator urged an additional inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the fatal shooting of four Kent State University students, and in October introduced a revised form of his "Citizen's Privacy Act" which would make it illegal for an individual to record a telephone conversation without letting the other party know that the conversation is being recorded. The Bill further requires the Government to notify citizens whose files are held, and allows a citizen to make any corrections of erroneous materials in the files.

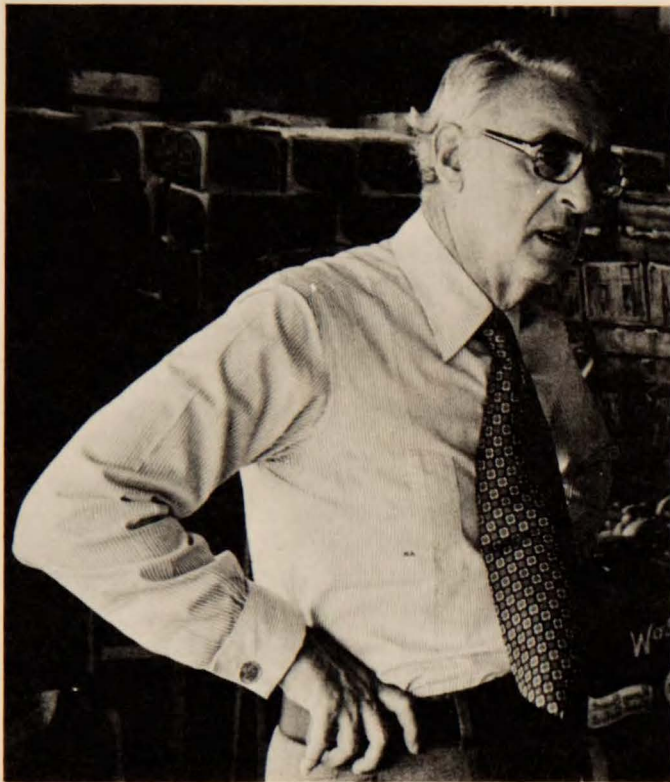
Thanks to his organizational skills, he successfully led the Senate opposition to Supreme Court nominations of Carswell and Haynsworth.

Now he presides over the Judiciary Subcommittees on Constitutional Amendments, Juvenile Delinquency, and Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia.

In 1968, and 1972, Indiana gave Nixon the largest vote margin of any state sweeping Republicans into major state offices. In 1973, Senator Bayh headed the Nixon enemies list. Certainly his long list of accomplishments will be remembered and detailed by the pro-Nixon forces hoping to unseat a man who has earned his spurs as an independent spokesman for the good of the nation.

Please make your check out to *BAYH FOR SENATOR.*





*"Our problems are great. But so are the resources of this nation and its people. We must restore their confidence in themselves and their government."*

SENATOR RIBICOFF of Connecticut

July 12, 1972

Miami Beach

Democratic National Convention

Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.) has never hesitated to risk his political career out of a deep sense of conscience and national needs. It was Ribicoff who nominated George McGovern for President in 1968 at the Democratic convention, urged him to run in '72, and campaigned for him extensively--even though it pitted Ribicoff against conservative Democrats in his own state. And it was also Ribicoff who took the Speaker's stand at the 1968 Democratic convention to condemn the "Gestapo tactics" of the Chicago police.

If anything sums up Senator Ribicoff, it is outspokenness and independence --on military spending cuts...on equal enforcement of desegregation, north and south...on welfare reform...on consumer protection.

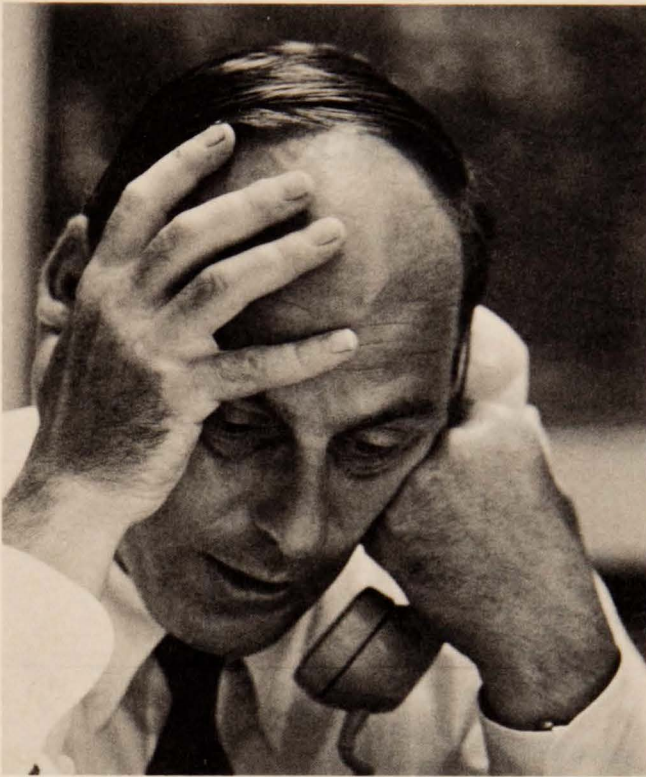
Ribicoff has been able to take these stands because--as a two-term Congressman, as Governor for 6 years, as Kennedy's first Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and as Senator for two terms--he has served Connecticut well.

Ribicoff has been the legislative champion for two main groups: consumers and the poor. In March, 1966, at a hearing on auto safety before his Government Operations Subcommittee, Ribicoff rebuked the president of General Motors for having ordered espionage against a committee witness, Ralph Nader. This was the occasion that launched the career of the young crusader.

The Nixon landslide allowed Republicans to take control of state offices in Connecticut in 1972. This will add some headaches for Ribicoff, and early money will be needed to help the Senator organize his fundraising and state campaign operations.

Checks should be made to *PEOPLE FOR RIBICOFF*.





*"The people are fed up with politics as usual."*

SENATOR STEVENSON of Illinois

January 29, 1973  
Springfield, Illinois  
Annual Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Dinner

Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III (D-Ill.) after three years in the Senate has already assumed a position of leadership, very much in his family's tradition.

Since his election in 1970 to fill the unexpired term of the late Everett McKinley Dirksen--and, indeed, since his election to the Illinois Legislature in 1964--Stevenson has taken the lead in pushing for reforms in campaign financing and legislative practices. He has advocated annual mandatory disclosure of every congressman's personal income, and has called for public subsidization of elections, strict overall expenditure ceilings in campaigns, and creation of an independent commission to police campaign dirty tricks.

Out of this same concern, Stevenson blew the whistle on indirect American aid to President Thieu's re-election campaign in South Vietnam, and pressured for an over-sight commission to keep American personnel in Vietnam "neutral" during the election.

Stevenson is a hard worker, weighs his words carefully, and has illuminated such important policy matters as the mismanagement of federal housing programs, the spiralling U.S. sales of conventional arms, and the energy crisis and fuel shortages.

Historically, Illinois is a swing state. Stevenson has won three state-wide elections, leading the ticket each time. But potentially dangerous fissures within the Democratic party, combined with a renewed effort by the Nixon Administration to extinguish the Stevenson tradition, pose formidable obstacles to Adlai Stevenson's re-election in 1974.

Please make your check payable to *CITIZENS FOR STEVENSON*.



# A letter to the Council

P. O. Box 253  
Glen Ellen Ca 95442  
Sept 29 1973

Dear Friends -

My next-door-neighbor is "known as an active supporter of open and decent government" but I am not? At any rate I did not receive your recent mailing. But, then, Lona is 73 and I am only 55. Maybe it takes 50 years of tenacity - and I'll make it yet.

Here is my \$30 - I was going to get some new slacks and a blouse, but, god knows, we need your help a lot more than I need a new outfit. I was beginning to despair of my children and grandchildren inheriting a decent country in which to grow up and flourish.

I haven't had such high spirits in years. I did not know you existed. Incidentally, I just mailed \$15 to Mr. Cranston. Please use this \$30 in whatever way you see fit.

I'll try to send you more next month.

Sincerely,

*Jean Hedley*

Jean Hedley  
Teacher of the Retarded, bless them.



## HARD CASH FROM TENDER MINDS

by Roger M. Williams

In a rare accommodation of academics to politics, the Council for a Livable World finances pivotal Senate campaigns—and gets its men elected.

**L**ike Albert Einstein, the late Leo Szilard was a scientist with a passionate concern for life as well as for science. Szilard, a Hungarian who fled from the Nazis to the United States, was a renowned physicist and the father of the nuclear chain reaction. At the same time he grew increasingly alarmed at the prospect of total war and nuclear destruction. For scientific discoveries such as atomic energy to be turned against mankind was, to him, the prostitution of science.

Szilard knew that this could be prevented only by controlling the cause of it: the political process. So in 1962 he set up, almost singlehanded, a group called the Council for a Livable World. Seldom has a lofty-sounding title been more deceptive. Szilard had no patience with the hand-wringing, credo-issuing organizations so popular among academics. His group would concern itself with the implications of science in the arena of politics. It would undertake political action by making highly selective campaign contributions and by lobbying in Congress in pursuit of its primary goals: an end to the nuclear arms race and greatly scaled-down military expenditures by the major powers. In so doing, it would demonstrate a pragmatic single-mindedness rare among American liberals.

The Council for a Livable World, now in the hands of Szilard's political followers, has achieved notable and unheralded success. The U. S. Senate, on which the council focuses, is a different place because of it. Twenty-seven members of the current Senate were elected with council help, and virtually all of them have been working actively to promote the goals that the organization espouses.

The council concentrates on the Senate because it reasons, rightly, that a single senator can have greater effect on issues of world peace than can any other individual outside the presidency. It concentrates on small-state Senate races because it reasons, again rightly, that the smaller the campaign budget, the greater the impact of a contribution to it; and as every grammar school student should know, senators from Rhode Island and Delaware—who benefited from council largess last fall—have votes equal to senators from New York and California, who did not.

Actually, the largess comes not from the council itself but from its 13,000 "supporters," political liberals who share the organization's concerns and are willing to make campaign contributions virtually at its direction. The supporters, many of them academics, are concentrated in the large states, so that a Senate race in, say, Colorado will involve few council funds from within that state—and

anywhere between \$10,000 and \$50,000 from outside it. Other liberal lobbying groups, such as the National Committee for an Effective Congress, may contribute more money to a given campaign. Few if any contribute so much per supporter, and none does it by the council's direct grass-roots-to-candidate system.

In senatorial election years council supporters receive a series of mailings from the board of directors (who are virtually unknown to them) asking for contributions to the campaign of this or that candidate. The directors are so sure their recommendations will be accepted by the supporters that they control the flow of contributions simply by asking certain alphabetical groupings to send checks to certain candidates. "They are surprisingly good about that," says council board chairman William von E. Doering. "They'll give money to people they haven't heard about, on our recommendation."

If this sounds like a political dreamland, that is what Leo Szilard had in mind. Szilard envisioned a council of 150,000 members willing to contribute 2 per cent of their incomes to political campaigns. That proved unrealistic, but he quickly learned to make the best use of the money he had. For the 1962 campaign the council raised a mere \$50,000. Szilard put \$22,000 of it behind the senatorial candidacy of a young South Dakota professor named McGovern.

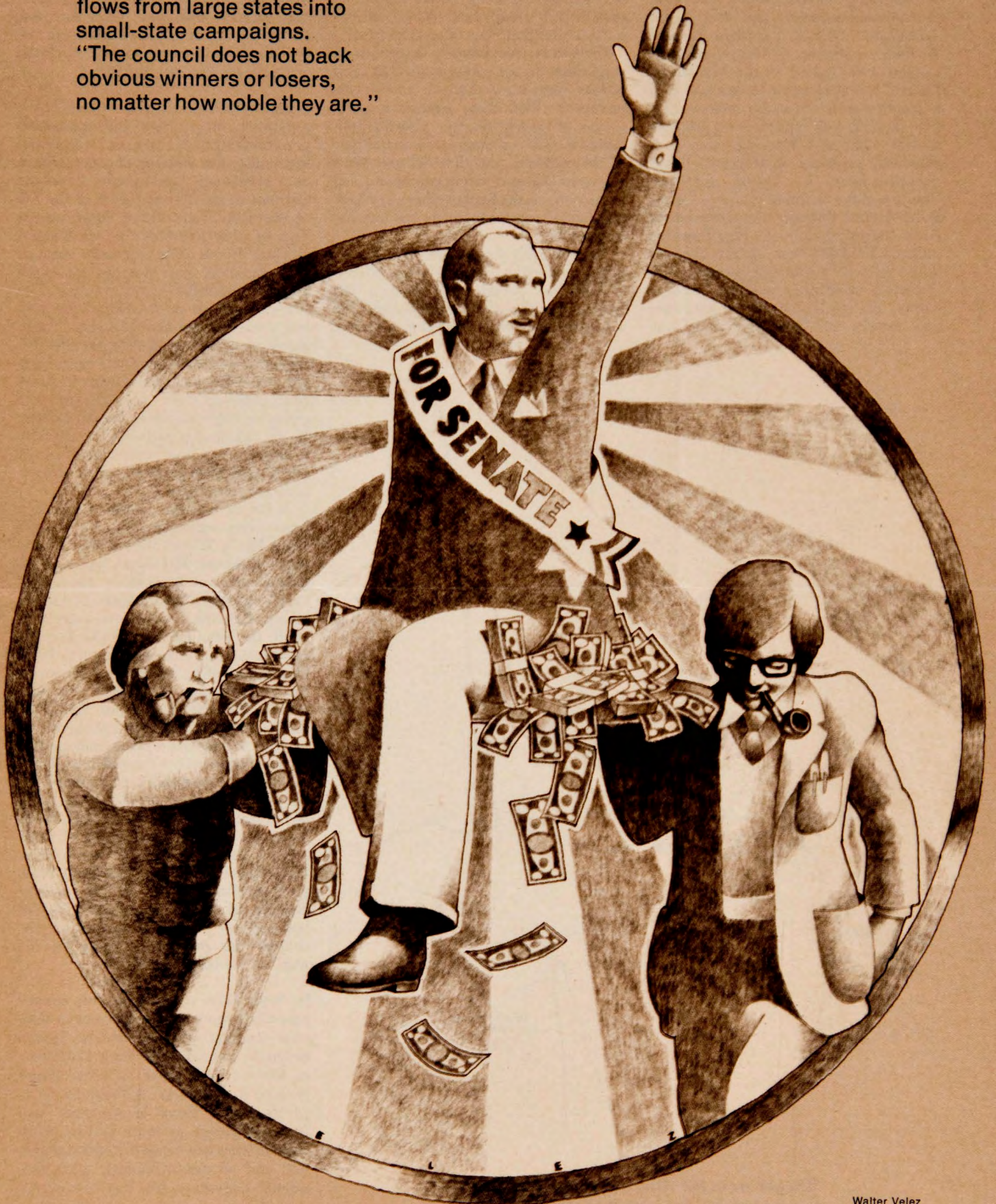
Since then the council's contributions have ballooned—to \$375,000 in 1968. In 1972 the total was \$232,000, a figure that political pros consider remarkable since the McGovern campaign was siphoning off most of the available "liberal money."

While the council has not produced any other presidential candidates, it has undeniably altered the composition of the Senate. Perhaps many of the council-backed senators would have been elected anyway, but it is important to note that the organization does not contribute to a campaign unless the outcome is in doubt; it does not back obvious winners or obvious losers, no matter how nobly progressive they are. Two other criteria are used: the candidate's need for financial support (no Kennedys need apply) and the nature of his opposition; although Democrat Joseph Clark had received support in earlier races for the Senate, he did not get it in 1968, because the council considered his Republican opponent, Richard Schweiker, equally sound on the critical issues. Thus far the council has backed only five Republicans, for the simple and predictable reason that Democrats more frequently meet its criteria.

Although the council's office is in



The council's dollar support flows from large states into small-state campaigns. "The council does not back obvious winners or losers, no matter how noble they are."



Walter Velez



Washington, D.C., its chief operatives are clustered in the intellectual environs of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Almost all of them are academics, and most are old associates of Szilard. President Bernard T. Feld, a physics professor at MIT, worked with Szilard on the Manhattan Project. Board member Maurice S. Fox, a genetics professor at the same institution, worked with him on other projects; so did Chairman Doering, who is a chemistry professor at Harvard. Board member James G. Patton, president emeritus of the National Farmer's Union, knew Szilard through the campaign to wrest control of atomic energy from the military. Feld and Doering form the core of the council's leadership, together with two other Cambridge neighbors: Roger Fisher, Harvard Law School professor and creator of "The Advocates" on

public television; and Allan Forbes, Jr., self-trained anthropologist and producer of documentary films. It is a highly accomplished group that shares an updated Szilardian view of world affairs.

Obviously the council's thousands of supporters do not subscribe to that view *in toto*, but they do believe, as Feld expresses it, "that there remains a grave danger of nuclear disaster, that the policies of the United States are a major part of the problem, and that the one place where concerned citizens can have a real impact on it is the Senate—the only check and balance that remains in the international field."

The council's other major activity, besides supporting senatorial candidates, is lobbying. Again, the arena is the Senate, and the method is distinct. The council brings to Washington an array

of authorities on the subject at issue and makes them available to senators. It finds that many senators are confused on complex matters of defense policy and that they welcome both the clarification and anti-administration point of view that the council's experts can provide.

AMONG POLITICIANS, the council has a reputation for low-key but persuasive presentations of its cases, and it has been instrumental in winning Senate victories on a number of hard-fought issues—the test-ban treaty, the extension of the life of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the defeat of the Multilateral Nuclear Force. The council's greatest lobbying effort came in opposition to the Sentinel anti-ballistic-missile system. The system survived in the Senate by only one vote, and political observers credit the council with being the most effective contributor to the narrowness of the margin. Its ABM activities began in 1964 and continued right up to the time the climactic vote was taken, five years later. By its calculation forty-one of the fifty senators who voted against deployment of the ABM had participated in council-sponsored seminars.

A list of senators whose campaigns have been supported by the council reads like a liberal *Who's Who* in the upper chamber. McGovern has received money twice; so have Philip Hart, William Fulbright, Clifford Case, and a few others. Edward Brooke was assisted in 1966, the year he crossed the Senate's color line, and Thomas Eagleton in 1968, four years before he became famous as the vice-president who never was. Alabama's John Sparkman, no liberal on most domestic issues, was given \$2500 in 1966 to help fend off a challenge by an archconservative Republican. While the council cannot flatly claim credit for the victories of these or other candidates, its officials believe that council funds made the difference in several of them—Frank Moss and Gale McGee in 1964, Mark Hatfield and Lee Metcalf in 1966, perhaps Fulbright in the Democratic primary in 1968. (Wyoming's McGee has become an embarrassment to the council—"an outrageous hawk on the war," as one official puts it.)

IN THE 1972 CAMPAIGNS the council supported more than a half-dozen first-time candidates for the Senate: Joseph Biden in Delaware, William Hathaway in Maine, Dick Clark in Iowa, Floyd Haskell in Colorado, William Davis in Idaho, David Pryor in Arkansas, and James Abourezk in South Dakota. Most of them were newcomers to national politics, and all save Abourezk were considered underdogs. Yet with the exception of Davis and Pryor—who lost in a



*"Do you want the basic truth, the simple truth, the unvarnished truth, or the unfettered truth?"*



close primary race against the powerful Sen. John McClellan—all of them won. So did two council-aided incumbents who encountered stiff opposition: Montana's Metcalf and Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island. Contributions to these campaigns generated by the council ranged between \$18,000 and \$50,000. The totals were not so significant as what they represented as a proportion of individual campaign costs. Of the slightly more than \$200,000 spent by Hathaway, for example, \$27,000 came via the good offices of the council. Further, in almost every case, money came when it was most needed in an underdog's campaign—early.

"They were a great, great help," says Claiborne Pell of the council-inspired contributions to his campaign, "all the more so because they came in early. That enabled us to plan and make commitments at the outset, when that should be done." The council provided important advice as well: On the recommendation of its staff members, Pell retained television image-maker Charles Guggenheim, whose work became an important factor in the Pell victory.

From time to time, council support has itself been an issue. The opponents of several council-aided candidates have referred darkly to "outside money," and such conservative spokesmen as columnist Holmes Alexander and Spiro Agnew have characterized the group as one that seeks, in Alexander's phrase, to "see America stand naked to her enemies." During the 1964 campaign, several Republican candidates attacked their Democratic opponents for receiving council funds. One of their pieces of ammunition was a report by "a group of Senators and their staffs" alleging that the council's goals included "turning this country into a fourth-rate power at the mercy of the international wolf pack."

In last year's Rhode Island race, Republican John Chafee charged that Pell's acceptance of council support signaled his abandonment of the *Trident* submarine project, an economic sacred cow in the state. (Several thousand Rhode Islanders work on the project at the General Dynamics boatyard in Groton, Connecticut.) Pell rebutted the charge by saying that he favors *Trident* despite the council's opposition to it. The fact that he was able to take such a stand and obtain council support demonstrates the organization's non-dogmatic approach. "It understands the practical problems of being a liberal and staying in office," says Pell's administrative assistant, Paul Goulding.

The council's top men respond with a tolerant chuckle to suggestions that they are amateurs dabbling in the business of getting people elected to state-

wide office. "There are actually very few pros in politics," says Bernie Feld. "Anyway, after working at this for ten years, I know a little something. We get advice from other people, but we make all the final decisions ourselves on who we're going to support." (The decisions can be puzzling. Last year the council board turned down an appeal from a moderate North Carolina Democrat, Nick Galifianakis, who was staging an uphill fight against an archconservative Republican candidate, Jesse Helms. Galifianakis, the board members felt, wasn't "impressive"

—so Helms was left to in effect cancel one of the council's liberal victories.)

Although delighted by last fall's results, council officials anticipate a difficult time in 1974. "The Senate races should be bloody," says William Doering. "Nixon and Agnew will be out raising hell to try to make up for last year's defeats." And the liberal senatorial candidates, newcomers and incumbents, will be looking to a group of academics, a scattering of trusting contributors, and the spirit of Leo Szilard to help them repulse the assault. □

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# Council for a Livable World

December, 1973

Dear Council Supporter,

In these fateful days, we move from event to event with such disorienting speed that the actions we advise you to take today may become irrelevant tomorrow.

By the time you and twenty-five thousand fellow Council supporters receive this letter and can respond appropriately, the importance and wisdom of creating a congressionally authorized special prosecutor responsible to the courts may have become questionable. Similarly, the resignation or disability of the President may make it unnecessary to urge the Senate and House to continue impeachment proceedings past the preliminary stage. Early confirmation of Gerald Ford as Vice-President may not only lay to unsatisfactory rest the questions of Ford's appropriateness for the office, but also turn the alternative of congressionally authorized, special elections for a new President and Vice-President a year from now into retrospective dinner table conversation.

Nevertheless, we can think of no more important step for the nation than a congressional decision to hold a special presidential and vice-presidential election concurrently with the House and Senate elections of 1974. We believe that these special elections should take place whether or not Congress confirms Gerald Ford as Vice-President. Senator Hathaway of Maine, who received the support of many of you in the past, has introduced such a bill (S.2678) which "provides that in the case of a vacancy occurring in the Offices of both the President and Vice-President, there will be a special Presidential election, with the highest ranking officer of the House of Representatives of the same party as the outgoing President serving as acting President until such election is held." Senator Hathaway's proposal is founded in the bedrock of democracy: "It seems logical to me to allow the people themselves to decide who shall then receive what only they can rightfully give."

Barring declaration of a state of national emergency, no events are likely to change our conviction that our clearest and strongest hope, now and in the next few years, lies in the Senate of the United States. Your encouragement today of the four incumbent Senators whose high qualities and immediate needs for help we called to your attention about four weeks ago is your best and, perhaps, only insurance against further abuses in government. Currently, Senators Bayh, Church, Ribicoff, and Stevenson are among the co-sponsors of the bill to establish



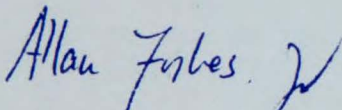
a special independent prosecutor accountable to the courts rather than to the executive branch so that the people can be assured of the enforcement of the criminal laws and the due administration of justice.

We especially need to re-elect these men of integrity and conscience to deal with the difficult legislation that surely lies ahead. To the many of you who may already have received a note of thanks for your contribution, be assured not only that the resolve and spirit of the particular Senator you have supported has been enormously strengthened and encouraged by your action, but also that many other Senators now know that they, too, may count on your support when it is needed later.

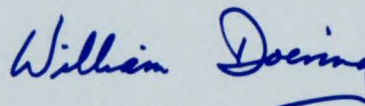
If you have not sent in your contribution, please do so soon. The Senate is in the process of taking some of its most decisive actions. Let its members know by your contribution and by a personal note (which we will forward with pleasure if you enclose it in the envelope) how much you are counting on them to lead the country out of its present distress wisely and with courage.

We enclose brief biographies of the four Senators we recommend for your immediate and generous support. We are also asking you to write or telegraph\* your Senator about the need for an independent prosecutor to finish the work begun by Cox and also the desirability of a special presidential election in 1974. We make these suggestions fully aware that new developments may have made such steps irrelevant or inappropriate by the time you receive this letter.

Sincerely,



Alan Forbes, Jr.  
Board Member



William Doering  
President

\*Dial Western Union toll free (800-257-2211) for their special \$2.00 rate for telegrams to any elected official. They are referred to as Personal Opinion Messages (POM) and are about three times less costly than a regular telegram.

P.S. We are not asking that you contribute to certain other incumbent Senators up for re-election who are obviously also worthy of Council endorsement because, at this time, their financial support is substantially adequate.



CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORIZATION OF A SPECIAL PROSECUTOR.

Professor Raoul Berger, the ranking authority on constitutional law of the Harvard Law School, has stated clearly and unequivocally the arguments for the appointment of an independent lawyer to prosecute possible criminal actions perpetrated by members of the White House Staff, including the President. We quote from Professor Berger's New York Times article of 7 November 1973 in order to assist you in writing or telegraphing members of the Senate if and as you judge it appropriate. At this writing, it seems one of the most important actions you can take.

It is generally agreed that the appointment of a special prosecutor to carry on the task begun by Archibald Cox is indispensable to restoration of confidence in the administration of justice. The nation cannot tolerate the spectacle of a potential defendant in the Presidency dictating to a prosecutor how far investigation may go. Acting Attorney General Bork's protestation that he means to be utterly independent in pursuing the Watergate and related investigations furnishes even less security than was furnished by the express charter of independence given to Mr. Cox by Attorney General Richardson.

As the Supreme Court stated in Humphrey's Executor v. United States, "one who holds his office only during the pleasure of another, cannot be depended upon to maintain an attitude of independence against the latter's will."

With good reason, therefore, has public sentiment crystallized in favor of a statute that would establish a special prosecutor as an agency completely independent of the President, to be appointed by a court. The power of Congress to establish independent agencies is indisputable; power to vest appointments in the courts is expressly conferred by Article II, Section 2(2) of the Constitution: "Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments."

....

Those who have been ready enough to argue to an illimitable power of removal--a power nowhere mentioned in the Constitution, which was the subject of protracted controversy in the first Congress, and which argument is discredited by Madison's statement in that debate that the President would be impeachable "for the wanton removal of meritorious officers"--should not be too quick to place limits upon the express and unqualified Congressional power to vest appointments in the courts.

....

Somewhere there must exist power to provide for an independent special prosecutor to carry forward an untrammelled investigation of White House participation in a criminal conspiracy. Without straining, it can be found in Article II, Section 2(2). It follows that a statute authorizing a court to appoint a special prosecutor would be constitutional.



SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL SPECIAL ELECTION IN 1974

CONSTITUTION: Article II, Section I, Clause 5

In the Case of the Removal of the President from Office or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall then act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

It is inconceivable that a President allegedly involved in a series of "high crimes and misdemeanors," thoroughly discredited, who may be removed from office either by his party or the Congress of the United States, should be permitted to select the successor who will fill out his unexpired term.

If we are to restore confidence in our nation, at home and abroad, we must have a new presidential election. Such an election could easily be held concurrently with the 1974 congressional elections. Three professors of law at Harvard, Paul A. Freund, Abram Chayes and Raoul Berger concluded, after an examination requested by Boston's Mayor Kevin H. White, that Congress has the authority to call for a special presidential election: "In our view, the constitutional text, the debates at Philadelphia, and the practice under the Constitution leave no doubt that the Congress has the power to provide by statute for a special presidential election."





*"We have a chance now after all these years...to cut off funds and force an end to our part in the war...to do it for all of Indochina and bring peace at last."*

SENATOR CHURCH of Idaho

June 29, 1973  
Washington, D.C.  
Before the United States Senate

Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) is without question one of the most capable and eloquent members of the U.S. Senate. First elected in 1956 at the age of 32, Church is now the third ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. If re-elected, he will some day serve as the committee's chairman, continuing the distinguished record of the committee under its present chairman, Senator William Fulbright.

Church took an early stand against the Vietnam war--despite the extreme unpopularity of that position in Idaho at the time. Church was largely responsible for congressional passage of the two Cooper-Church amendments, which prohibited American combat troops from entering Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand. After the cease-fire in January, he introduced the Case-Church bill, to halt the bombing of Cambodia and to bar any future American military activity in Southeast Asia unless specifically authorized by Congress. Approved by the Senate on June 29, it was this amendment that ended American military involvement in Indochina.

As Chairman of the Multinational Corporations Subcommittee, Church conducted the recent hearings on attempts by IT&T to subvert the 1970 election of Salvador Allende in Chile through CIA intervention. The Idaho Senator has also censured existing foreign aid programs which, in his words, have "propped up dictatorships, enriched the already rich and further impoverished the already poor."

Senator Church is well known in Idaho for his stands on national and international issues and for his careful attention to the needs of his state. From his position as a ranking member of the Senate Interior Committee, he has built an outstanding record in the field of conservation. As Chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, he has authored extensive legislation to help the elderly.

Campaigns for conservatives in Idaho have little trouble obtaining funding, and the right wing can be expected to launch a major effort to unseat Senator Church.

Your check should be made out to the *IDAHO FOR CHURCH COMMITTEE*.





*"I know that amending the Constitution is an awesome responsibility that I do not take lightly."*

SENATOR BAYH of Indiana

September 24, 1973

Washington, D.C.

Statement before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments

In his second term in the U. S. Senate, Birch Bayh has established himself as one of the Senate's outstanding constitutional authorities. He believes in telling people what they need to know, rather than what they might like to hear. Change invariably produces controversy but Senator Bayh has gone ahead to write and guide to passage the 25th Amendment which provides for presidential and vice-presidential succession. He also led the successful effort for passage of the 26th Amendment which lowered the voting age to 18; and sponsored and secured passage of the 27th Amendment to guarantee Equal Rights for men and women.

Currently, Senator Bayh has renewed his efforts to do away with the electoral college, believing that direct popular election of the President and Vice President is more representative of the will of the people.

On arms control, Bayh supported the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Senate Resolution calling for a cessation of U.S. and USSR test flights of MIRV.

This year, the Senator urged an additional inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the fatal shooting of four Kent State University students, and in October introduced a revised form of his "Citizen's Privacy Act" which would make it illegal for an individual to record a telephone conversation without letting the other party know that the conversation is being recorded. The Bill further requires the Government to notify citizens whose files are held, and allows a citizen to make any corrections of erroneous materials in the files.

Thanks to his organizational skills, he successfully led the Senate opposition to Supreme Court nominations of Carswell and Haynsworth.

Now he presides over the Judiciary Subcommittees on Constitutional Amendments, Juvenile Delinquency, and Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia.

In 1968, and 1972, Indiana gave Nixon the largest vote margin of any state sweeping Republicans into major state offices. In 1973, Senator Bayh headed the Nixon enemies list. Certainly his long list of accomplishments will be remembered and detailed by the pro-Nixon forces hoping to unseat a man who has earned his spurs as an independent spokesman for the good of the nation.

Please make your check out to *BAYH FOR SENATOR*.





*"Our problems are great. But so are the resources of this nation and its people. We must restore their confidence in themselves and their government."*

SENATOR RIBICOFF of Connecticut

July 12, 1972

Miami Beach

Democratic National Convention

Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.) has never hesitated to risk his political career out of a deep sense of conscience and national needs. It was Ribicoff who nominated George McGovern for President in 1968 at the Democratic convention, urged him to run in '72, and campaigned for him extensively--even though it pitted Ribicoff against conservative Democrats in his own state. And it was also Ribicoff who took the Speaker's stand at the 1968 Democratic convention to condemn the "Gestapo tactics" of the Chicago police.

If anything sums up Senator Ribicoff, it is outspokenness and independence --on military spending cuts...on equal enforcement of desegregation, north and south...on welfare reform...on consumer protection.

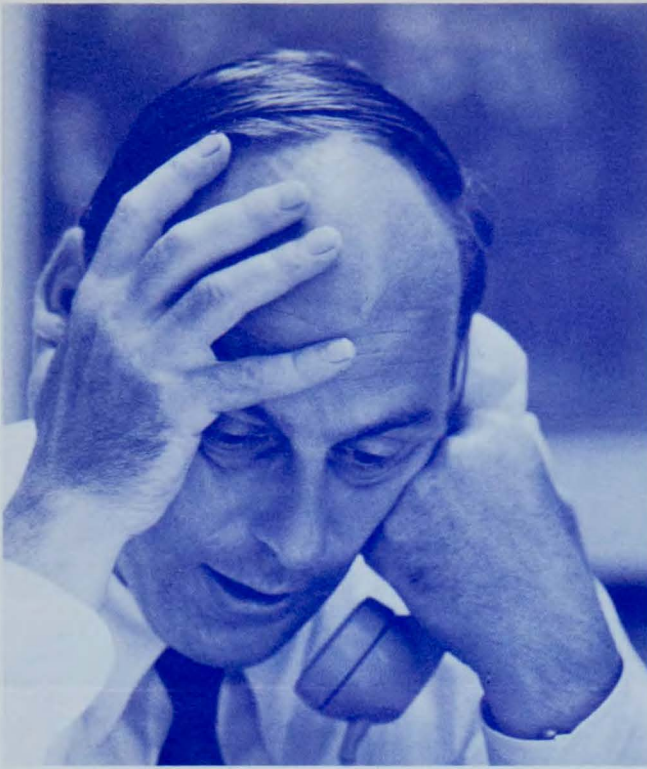
Ribicoff has been able to take these stands because--as a two-term Congressman, as Governor for 6 years, as Kennedy's first Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and as Senator for two terms--he has served Connecticut well.

Ribicoff has been the legislative champion for two main groups: consumers and the poor. In March, 1966, at a hearing on auto safety before his Government Operations Subcommittee, Ribicoff rebuked the president of General Motors for having ordered espionage against a committee witness, Ralph Nader. This was the occasion that launched the career of the young crusader.

The Nixon landslide allowed Republicans to take control of state offices in Connecticut in 1972. This will add some headaches for Ribicoff, and early money will be needed to help the Senator organize his fundraising and state campaign operations.

Checks should be made to *PEOPLE FOR RIBICOFF*.





*"The people are fed up with politics as usual."*

SENATOR STEVENSON of Illinois

January 29, 1973  
Springfield, Illinois  
Annual Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Dinner

Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III (D-Ill.) after three years in the Senate has already assumed a position of leadership, very much in his family's tradition.

Since his election in 1970 to fill the unexpired term of the late Everett McKinley Dirksen--and, indeed, since his election to the Illinois Legislature in 1964--Stevenson has taken the lead in pushing for reforms in campaign financing and legislative practices. He has advocated annual mandatory disclosure of every congressman's personal income, and has called for public subsidization of elections, strict overall expenditure ceilings in campaigns, and creation of an independent commission to police campaign dirty tricks.

Out of this same concern, Stevenson blew the whistle on indirect American aid to President Thieu's re-election campaign in South Vietnam, and pressured for an over-sight commission to keep American personnel in Vietnam "neutral" during the election.

Stevenson is a hard worker, weighs his words carefully, and has illuminated such important policy matters as the mismanagement of federal housing programs, the spiralling U.S. sales of conventional arms, and the energy crisis and fuel shortages.

Historically, Illinois is a swing state. Stevenson has won three state-wide elections, leading the ticket each time. But potentially dangerous fissures within the Democratic party, combined with a renewed effort by the Nixon Administration to extinguish the Stevenson tradition, pose formidable obstacles to Adlai Stevenson's re-election in 1974.

Please make your check payable to *CITIZENS FOR STEVENSON*.





# Council for a Livable World

July 31, 1975

Dear Council Supporter,

Since sending you our summer appeal and a subsequent reminder of our need for funds to support the Council's Washington Program, we can report encouraging results from our efforts to increase the effectiveness of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). The House has just passed an amendment authorizing an additional \$1 million specifically designated "to conduct a study of the impact upon military expenditures of arms control measures mutually agreed to by the United States and the Soviet Union."

The initial draft of this amendment was prepared by our legislative consultant, Carl Marcy, and sent to members of the House and Senate. It was accepted by Representative Zablocki (D-Wisc.) who is chairman of the House Subcommittee on Security and Scientific Affairs and a supporter of many positions taken by the Council. Shortly thereafter Representative Abzug proposed the amendment with these remarks:

" . . . I would like again to urge my colleagues to examine critically the administration's dangerous new first-strike strategy, and to support research into alternatives to that strategy. . . ."

We expect the Senate version of the bill to include the stronger language of the Council's original draft which asked for evaluation of the long term consequences of a 20 per cent reduction.

As the top three U. S. officials, Ford, Kissinger, and Schlesinger, attempt to make the policy of first-use of nuclear weapons thinkable to the Congress and to the public, it is more important than ever that the hand of the Council in Washington be strengthened.

Therefore, we ask you again, please, to make a contribution to the Council For A Livable World. It is one thing you can do to counter a foreign policy based increasingly on arming for a military response to international conflicts.

With much gratitude and all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

William Doering  
President

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# Council for a Livable World

September 15, 1975

Dear Council Supporter:

This is a brief reminder urging you not to put off a response to the August 20th mailing any longer. That letter, we know, was long and could easily have been put aside for future attention.

At this writing the prospect of a cut in the military budget across the board is still very much alive. Dated 13 September was the report of an action by a House Appropriations Subcommittee cutting the Defense Department's \$98 billion budget by \$7 billion. Vigorous counter efforts by the DOD are already underway, but pressures from within the Congressional budget committees are strong to hold the line on military spending.

There is a good chance that the final vote in the Senate on military procurement will not have taken place by the time you read this reminder. Many Supporters have already written to the Senators suggested in the August 20th mailing, and we hope you will also write if you haven't done so already.

In our letter we asked for your Autumn contribution to the Council. This is the time when Steve Thomas' visits to the states of potential interest in the 1976 elections become almost continuous. It is also the time when we should begin putting our new policy with respect to support of worthy incumbents into effect. This policy involves making modest contributions directly from the Council's general fund at the earliest appropriate time. For several incumbents, that time is now.

Please don't postpone any longer making your contribution to the Council. Your support is needed.

Yours sincerely,

William Doering  
President

P.S. Many of you have already responded to the request that you help the Council attract new supporters. If you are not already part of this effort, please don't underestimate the importance of your personal involvement.

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# Council for a Livable World

October 17, 1975

Dear Council Supporter:

In our August letter we called attention to the unusual action of the Senate in rejecting a Conference Report on the 1976 Military Procurement Bill and sending it back to conference for trimming. The effect on the final Act was a reduction of \$250 million in the total authorization of \$25.5 billion for 1976 weapons procurement programs. Although not very much in absolute terms, it represents a reflection of the growing concern over the excesses in the military budget, and, quite concretely, has blocked construction of a new class of nuclear-powered strike cruiser, the ultimate cost of which had been conservatively estimated between \$10 and \$20 billion by the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee.

Last spring the Council launched an effort to generate Congressional support for stopping all nuclear weapons tests, limiting the number of nuclear delivery vehicles to a level 20 percent below the figures in the Vladivostok Guidelines and establishing multinational control over regional re-processing of nuclear fuel. Our original draft resolution with minor modifications has been introduced in the House by Congressman Zablocki, the first-ranking majority member of the International Affairs Committee. A similar resolution, the text of which is printed on the back of this letter, has been introduced by Senator Cranston with the support of Senators Brock, Mathias, and others. The Council will play an active role in the hearings on these resolutions, which will be held later this year.

On the campaign front, there has been one important change: Senator John O. Pastore (D - R.I.) has announced his retirement at the end of his present term. The Rhode Island election, in which previously we saw no opportunity for Council involvement, now shifts to the category of "Possible Gains."

Those of you who have not already sent a contribution in response to the August 20th mailing or the reminder of September 15th are urged to do so. The Washington lobbying effort is making good progress. The election year is upon us. Please send in your contribution now.

Yours sincerely,

*William Doering*

William Doering  
President

P.S. During the current year alone, the Council has lost track of 316 of its Supporters through unreported changes of address. Whether or not you are making a contribution at this time, would you please correct any error in name, address or zip code showing on the enclosed card and return it in the enclosed envelope.



CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

"Nuclear Reduction, Testing and Non-Proliferation"

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representative concurring),

WHEREAS the operation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was reviewed in May, 1975, by a special conference which included parties to such Treaty;

WHEREAS such conference confirmed the fact that states with nuclear-weapons capability have made only limited progress in pursuing "negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and a treaty on general and complete disarmament," as called for by such Treaty;

WHEREAS a significant number of non-nuclear weapons states have not acceded to such Treaty;

WHEREAS pressures generated by expanded energy requirements throughout the world have vastly increased the demand for non-military uses of nuclear energy;

WHEREAS it is important that further efforts be undertaken on an urgent basis to limit the dangers involved in peaceful and military nuclear developments and that the position of the United States Congress be understood with respect to its willingness to give full effect to the terms of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to take further steps to limit nuclear dangers; Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States is respectfully requested to inform the appropriate foreign countries of the following declaration by the Congress of the United States with respect to arms control and disarmament negotiations and the proliferation of nuclear weapons materials:

(1) The Congress of the United States, noting the principles of strategic parity embodied in the Vladivostok Accord of November 24, 1974, urges their prompt embodiment in a Treaty. The Congress, further urges, after the conclusion of such a Treaty, immediate negotiations on a verifiable mutual 20 percent reduction in the number of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles and the number of strategic missile launchers equipped with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles.

(2) The Congress of the United States urges a comprehensive agreement ending underground nuclear explosions under adequate verification.

(3) The Congress of the United States, in order to reinforce international actions to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices, urges a halt on further transfers of nuclear fuel, technology, and equipment to any country which has not accepted International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards on all its nuclear programs or which by January, 1976, has not become a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, upon the condition that all major nuclear suppliers agree to a similar halt on such transfers.

(4) The Congress of the United States urges an agreement among the major nuclear suppliers providing that, with respect to the plutonium resulting from any transfer between countries of nuclear fuel, technology, or equipment, all re-processing of such plutonium will be performed in multinational regional nuclear fuel cycle centers which are protected by the strictest possible safeguards.

(5) The Congress of the United States urges a halt in the production of weapons grade material for weapons use under an adequate verification system. Following implementation of this provision, the Congress further urges, in order to share American resources and to guarantee nuclear fuel as needed to satisfy the legitimate energy needs of participating countries, the sharing of access to, and the product





# Council for a Livable World

18 November 1975

Dear Council Supporter:

Before the election season begins in earnest, we want to amplify our earlier remarks on four states where the opportunity for Council involvement is becoming clearer. We also want to explain how the new election law affects you and the Council and to emphasize what a crucial role we believe individual, small contributors will play in next year's campaigns.

## Developments in Four States

Since our preliminary survey of 1976 Senate elections was sent to you in August, there have been significant developments in four states. In our comments, we have underlined the names of candidates of potential interest to the Council. In the coming weeks board members will be meeting with each of them to discuss Council issues and to assess their qualifications for your support.

### Delaware

Three years ago Delaware was the scene of a major Senate upset when Joseph Biden defeated incumbent Senator Caleb Boggs by a narrow margin. In that same year Tom Maloney was elected mayor of Wilmington by defeating incumbent Harry Haskill.

During the Maloney administration, Wilmington has gained national recognition in fields as diverse as the reorganization of port facilities and the undertaking of a pilot project in urban homesteading. Long before New York City's fiscal crisis Wilmington was reordering basic services such as sanitation and firefighting, and eliminating non-essential jobs and facilities while maintaining a constant level of service.

If Democrat Tom Maloney announces his candidacy, he is expected to give incumbent Republican Senator William Roth a close and hard-fought race.

### Maryland

In 1974 liberal Republican Charles Mathias won reelection by a commanding margin. Next year, incumbent Republican Glenn Beall is expected to face a far more difficult test.

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Among announced and potential Democratic challengers Baltimore Congressman Paul Sarbanes is considered to be the strongest contender. Former Senator Joseph Tydings, whose interest in the race has blown hot and cold, remains undecided. With Sarbanes and State Senator Victor Crawford already announced, Tydings' entry as the third liberal could serve as an open invitation for a conservative Democrat to join in the primary. Since the Senate primary is in May, serious contenders will have to reach a decision by early next year.

Regardless of the outcome of the Democratic primary, Maryland's general election for the Senate will be a three-way race with investment consultant Bruce Bradley, a former Republican, running as an Independent.

### **Vermont**

Both Republicans and Democrats in Vermont anticipate a close race if Governor Thomas Salmon decides to challenge incumbent Senator Robert Stafford. That shared view emphasizes the changing political climate in a state which only last year elected Senator Patrick Leahy, the first Democratic Senator from Vermont since the Civil War. Vermont's changing politics reflect a heavy infusion of new residents primarily from urban areas in the Northeast, an increase of new industry in the Burlington area and the steady decline of the traditional family farm.

Although clearly a moderate within the Republican Party, Senator Stafford has established in his first term a predominantly negative record on issues of immediate concern to the Council.

### **Missouri**

For the Council, Delaware, Maryland and Vermont represent potential gains, while Missouri with the retirement of Senator Stuart Symington represents a potential loss.

Republicans will nominate Attorney General John Danforth, a moderate who narrowly missed defeating Senator Symington in 1970. His campaign is expected to be fully funded by the end of this year.

Democrats will have a harder time selecting

their nominee. Of the four announced or potential candidates in the Democratic primary, the major contest is expected to be between two Congressmen, Jerry Litton from northwest Missouri and James Symington from St. Louis, the son of Senator Symington. Former Governor Warren Hearnes, an announced candidate, carries the very heavy burden of an ongoing federal investigation into his previous administration of the state government. Hearnes may also encounter difficulties with the Federal Election Commission over funds transferred to his Senate campaign from a prior gubernatorial campaign committee. The fourth Democratic candidate, Kansas City attorney Joseph Teasdale, is not expected to be a major factor if indeed he remains in the Democratic primary.

## **Council Supporters and the 1974 Election Campaign Act Amendments**

Uncertainties surrounding the Federal Election Campaign Act will continue pending the Supreme Court's ruling on the constitutionality of the law and, equally important, issuance by the Federal Elections Commission of specific guidelines dealing with the practical problems which are encountered daily in fundraising and the conduct of campaigns.

Because the law, in whatever form, will have a major effect on next year's elections, we believe it important to outline the likely impact it will have upon you as a citizen and upon the activities of the Council.

Supporters may be affected in any one of three general ways: limitations on contributions, provisions governing volunteer activities in federal campaigns, and tax benefits provided by the law.

Contributions in cash may not exceed \$100.

Any person may contribute \$1000 to a congressional candidate in each of three elections, the primary, the primary run-off and the general (a total of \$3000). A total of only \$1000 may be contributed to a presidential candidate, since the law treats the different state primaries and nominating conventions as a single election.



There is an annual limit of \$25,000 total for all political contributions made by an individual contributor to federal candidates and political committees supporting them. It is probable that individual contributions to the Council are not subject to this limitation, since the Council is engaged in a variety of activities other than the support of federal candidates.

In practice, such high limits leave Council Supporters free to contribute as they have in the past, unaffected by the law.

Another area of the law may affect the political activities of Supporters next year. Any Council Supporter who serves as a volunteer in a political campaign may pay out-of-pocket incidental travel expenses or the costs of a party for a candidate in his or her "residential premises" up to a limit of \$500 in any election, without such expenses counting as a campaign contribution.

Of importance to all Council Supporters are the new tax benefits which apply to contributions to candidates for public office at the federal, state or local level. These same benefits do not, however, apply to contributions to the Council.

The law permits a contributor to political candidates two tax options: either a deduction or a credit. In the first option, a contributor may deduct any contribution up to \$100 (\$200 on a joint return) from his taxable income in the same year in which the contribution is made. Alternatively, a contributor may take a tax credit of one half of all his political contributions up to a maximum credit of \$25 (\$50 on a joint return) in the year in which the contributions are made. With a credit you simply subtract one half your political contributions (subject to the \$25 and \$50 maximum) from your tax payment.

If used thoughtfully, these benefits will permit many of you to increase the level of your support for political candidates at no extra expense. As an example, a Supporter who, unaware of the tax benefits, is planning to contribute a total of \$50 to political candidates in 1976 may now invoke a tax credit of \$25 and thus be able to make contributions totalling \$75 without exceeding his or her original budget of \$50. Since average Supporter con-

tributions to Senate candidates in 1974 were \$21, there is good reason to believe that widespread use of the tax benefits could substantially increase the level of support to candidates next year, perhaps by \$75,000 or more.

In the case of the Council, the new law comes closer to placing a restraint on our traditional campaign activities. The Council is limited to a total contribution of \$5000 to a Senate candidate in each of three elections, again the primary, the primary run-off and the general. Council contributions from its own funds to a federal candidate are applied in full against this \$5000 limit. Your contributions as a Supporter, however, are not counted against these limits but are applied instead against the limits on your own individual contributions as outlined above.

The Council's contributions also include the cost of a mailing or that part of a mailing which recommends the election of any federal candidate. Since the current cost of Council candidate mailings is less than \$5000, the Council can continue raising funds for Senate candidates in its traditional manner.

In record keeping and in filing public reports with the Federal Election Commission the Council's obligations have been increased considerably. We are obliged to maintain records of the names and addresses of all Supporters who contribute in excess of \$10 in aggregate either to the Council or to a federal candidate. As before, we are obliged to report to the Commission the names, addresses, occupations and principal places of business of all Supporters who contribute in excess of \$100 in aggregate either to the Council or to a federal candidate. Finally, we are obliged to report to the Commission the total of all individual contributions of \$100 or less either to the Council or to a federal candidate. In staff time alone, the reporting requirements have become a major item in the Council's operating expenses, particularly in an election year.

Because this record keeping and reporting is required by law, we ask you to check carefully the contribution card enclosed in each mailing for any error in your name and address and to keep us posted on your current occupation and



place of business. The few moments taken up by this chore will help us to comply fully with the disclosure requirements of the law.

## Changing Patterns in Fund-Raising

If election reform can be counted as a positive result of Watergate, the revelation of widespread illegal corruption of the election process by corporations and self-interest organizations must count as another. Although we have made no effort to keep a complete record of convictions for criminal violations, the list includes American Airlines, Braniff Airways, Carnation Company, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., Gulf Oil, Lehigh Valley Co-op Farmers, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing, Philips Petroleum, and Northrop Corp.

A more detailed picture of the scope of this kind of activity is given in an AP dispatch printed in the *Washington Post*, 10 August 1975, pertaining to the Ashland Oil Company:

The campaigns of current members of the U.S. Senate and House as well as former President Nixon and many Kentucky politicians received part of \$724,000 in illegal political donations, Ashland admitted in documents filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission. . . .

Among American politicians receiving illegal contributions from the company was the late Rep. Michael J. Kirwan, a Democrat from Ohio, who got \$60,000.

Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.) received \$50,000 that the documents indicate Mills was going to donate to other Democratic candidates. . . .

Other Senate candidates, all now incumbents, who received funds include Indiana Democrats Vance Hartke, \$3500, and Birch Bayh, \$3000, both in 1968; Milton R. Young (R-N.D.), \$3500, also in 1968; Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), three contributions totalling \$8000 in 1970; and James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.), John J. Sparkman (D-Ala.), and J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.), \$5000 each in 1972. . . .

Ashland also has admitted that part of the more than \$98,000 it received in secret payments from

## Convicted Contributors

Company	Name	Fine/Prison	Current Status
American Ship Building	George M. Steinbrenner 3d	\$15,000	Still chairman at \$50,000/yr.
	John H. Melcher Jr.	\$2,500	Discharged. Practicing law in Cleveland.
Ashland Oil	Orin E. Atkins*	\$1,000	Still chairman at \$314,000/yr.
Associated Milk Producers	Harold S. Nelson	4-months prison \$10,000	Resigned. Now in commodities exports.
	David L. Parr	4-months prison \$10,000	Resigned.
	Stuart H. Russell	2-years prison**	Resigned. Now in private law practice.
Braniff International	Harding L. Lawrence	\$1,000	Still chairman at \$335,000/yr.
Carnation	H. Everett Olson	\$1,000	Still chairman at \$212,500/yr.
Diamond International	Ray Dubrowin	\$1,000	Still V.P. for public affairs.
Goodyear Tire & Rubber	Russell DeYoung	\$1,000	Still chairman of 2 committees at \$306,000/yr. Also collecting pension of \$144,000/yr.
Gulf Oil	Claude C. Wild Jr.	\$1,000	Consultant in Washington, D. C.
HMS Electric	Charles N. Huseman	\$1,000	Still president.
LBC&W Inc.	William G. Lyles Sr.	\$2,000	Still chairman.
Lehigh Valley Cooperative Farmers	Richard L. Allison	Suspended Fine of \$1,000	Discharged.
3M	Harry Heltzer	\$500	Retired as chairman, but does special projects at \$100,000/yr.
Northrop	Thomas V. Jones	\$5,000	Still chief executive at \$286,000/yr.
	James Allen	\$1,000	Retired as V.P. with pension est. at \$36,000/yr.
Phillips Petroleum	William W. Keeler	\$1,000	Retired with pension est. at \$201,742/yr.
Ratrie, Robbins & Schweitzer	Harry Ratrie	1-month probation	Still president
	Augustus Robbins 3d	1-month probation	Still Exec. V.P.
Time Oil	Raymond Abendroth	\$2,000	Still president.

\*Pleaded no contest

\*\*Under appeal



the Central Intelligence Agency was mixed in the fund from which the illegal contributions were made.

Over the past two years, punishments for convicted corporations involved fines ranging from \$1000 to \$25,000, while those for individual officers are tabulated in an article, "Watergate Donors Still Riding High," which appeared in the *New York Times* of 24 August 1975.

Despite the trivial sentences handed down, it is likely that illegal corporate contributions will decrease dramatically. It is also likely that large donors to past campaigns will respect the new \$1000 limitation on individual contributions.

What effect will these sharp reductions in traditional sources of political funding have on campaign financing? We already see two significant developments, one in corporations and the other in the private sector.

Businessmen are being encouraged by the National Association of Manufacturers to employ a legally acceptable alternative allowed by the 1974 amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act and elaborated in the NAM's brochure: "Political Participation: Permissible Political Fund Raising for Corporations."\* The gist of this program is outlined in a quotation from the introduction:

Now, whether your firm is a government contractor or not, you may establish a political committee—usually called a separate segregated fund—within your plant or office; you may solicit voluntary employee contributions to this fund; company officers may serve as fund managers and some or all of the money collected may be distributed by the managers of the fund to political candidates and committees; and company dollars used to administer the fund are not considered a political expenditure.

Congress has created a legitimate means for corporations to offer employees a meaningful way to mass their voluntary political contributions and direct them with multiplied effect toward deserving candidates who understand the problems of their company, the business community and the nation.

\*The complete program is available at a cost of \$2.00 from the National Association of Manufacturers, Public Affairs Department, 1776 F. St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Although it would be unthinkable to interfere with the right of any citizen to make a legal political contribution as an individual, the important line separating voluntary from compulsory contributions may be difficult to maintain under present and developing company participation plans. A UPI dispatch dated St. Louis, 23 August 1975, reports how one such plan has worked in the past:

Employees of the Monsanto Corporation have contributed more than \$1 million to politicians since 1968 in a payroll deduction program that some employees say is not voluntary, the St. Louis Post Dispatch reported Saturday night.

The newspaper said some of the 21 Monsanto executives willing to talk about the contribution plan said it was not voluntary and that they had been 'coerced' or 'pressured' into putting money into the plan. Some said they had been told future promotions depended on their taking part in the plan.

These developments give little encouragement to those who hoped the new campaign amendments would assure the election of broadly financed public servants responsive to the people.

What a difference there is between the 'coerced' and 'pressured' contributor in a corporate political payroll plan and the voluntary contributor to a public-interest organization like the Council. The one participates under the shadow of a variety of possible consequences if he refuses to participate; the other acts only under self-imposed pressure without the slightest possibility of retribution if he declines to contribute. The one has his candidates selected by officers of the company for their understanding of company problems; the other contributes directly to candidates, recommended by the Council, if those candidates hold positions compatible with his own personal views. Indeed, the Council itself survives only by the consent of its Supporters.

In the private sector, the significant development in response to the drying up of previous major sources of conservative funding is an extraordinary proliferation of broadly based, political support organizations. Such new and old right wing groups as the Americans for Constitutional Action, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, the



National Conservative Action Committee, the Conservative Victory Fund and the Conservative Campaign Committee are steaming ahead in heavily backed efforts to expand the numbers of their \$1000 and under contributors.

As an illustration, the program of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress states that "the 94th Congress which convened on January 13 is the most liberal, anti-business, anti-military, pro-welfare Congress of all time. For the future safety and security of America, conservatives must recapture control of the next Congress. CSFC has developed... (a) four point action program designed to defeat 100 of the most radical U.S. Senators and Congressmen in the 1976 general election and turn America away from Socialism."

Their goal to "raise an 'Early Money' campaign fund of \$2,000,000 to help conservative candidates in Republican primaries, special elections and in the 1976 general election" is not to be taken lightly. In 1974 they raised \$412,248 in only four months and, by early October of this year, have already raised \$424,305.

Certainly the rapid growth of corporate political action committees and the recent emergence of large, well-financed fundraising organizations of the conservative right represent a dramatic change in campaign financing practices.

On the moderate-liberal side, large givers are also out of the picture. Yet, we see no comparable response. No new Council-like groups of \$1000-and-under givers are being formed nor are there any signs of revitalization of the campaign support activities of existing liberal organizations.

At no time has it been more starkly apparent that Council Supporters constitute the major national group of small contributors on whom the strength of the moderate-liberal side of the Senate depends.

Having tried your patience with the length of this letter, I find it very hard to phrase a request for money—but it is badly needed.

Best wishes for a happy Thanksgiving.



William Doering





# Council for a Livable World

January 14, 1976

Dear Council Supporter,

In our first election letter we are recommending for support an exceptionally attractive candidate, U.S. Representative Paul Sarbanes (D- Md.), in his bid to unseat incumbent Senator J. Glenn Beall (R - Md.).

Following our customary procedure, we are enclosing a profile of Paul Sarbanes which we hope you will study and retain for future reference. It outlines the candidate's understanding of and concern for the issues of arms control and disarmament. Position on these issues constitutes one of the three criteria for recommendation for Council support, the other two being an ability to run a successful campaign and the likelihood that your financial contributions will make a difference.

For those Supporters who have recently joined the Council we want to review briefly the Council's traditional method of fundraising for candidates.

In our election appeals we normally ask supporters to make their checks payable either to a candidate's campaign committee or to the Council according to an alphabetical division of supporters by name. For example, in this mailing we ask those of you whose last name begins with the letters A-K to contribute to the Council and those whose last name begins with the letters L-Z to make their checks payable to Sarbanes for Senate '76. Supporters who are asked this time to contribute to the Council are normally offered an opportunity to contribute to Senate candidates in the next election appeal.

Supporters will occasionally have other than Council priorities in selecting candidates to support. The inclusion of the phrase "unless you have a special preference to the contrary, please make your check payable to . . ." is to assure that your political contribution goes to a candidate of whom you approve.

Although the Maryland deadline for candidate filing is not until March, Paul Sarbanes is expected to face a tough primary battle for the Democratic nomination. A contribution now will ensure him a strong primary campaign and will prepare the ground for what is certain to be a very difficult general election.

Accordingly, "unless you have a special preference to the contrary," please make your check payable to the Council if your last name begins with the letters A-K and to Sarbanes for Senate '76 if your last name begins with the letters L-Z. All contributions should be returned in the enclosed envelope.

Sincerely,

*William Doering*

William Doering  
President





# Paul S. Sarbanes

## Council Supported Candidate Democrat-Maryland

Challenging entrenched incumbents is not a new experience for either U.S. Representative Paul Sarbanes or the Council, but it is very rare that we can recommend to you a candidate so well equipped by intellect, training, experience, and character.

One of his colleagues, John Seiberling (D-Ohio) who served with him during the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry, described Sarbanes as level-headed, brainy, well-educated and attractive, and then added: "Most important, he's a decent person."

Sarbanes is frequently cited as one of the outstanding young members of the Congress. Last March the magazine *Washington Monthly* included him in a small group of Senators and congressmen whom the magazine considered 'most qualified' for the presidency. When the writer of that article interviewed Sarbanes, he found that the third term Congressman "took an extremely dim view of my project. . . . He does not like being considered a rising political star." Sarbanes explained his lack of enthusiasm. "I don't think you ought to write a game plan for your life. . . . You really ought to do the job at hand, and if you do it well, things may follow and things may not."

Paul Spyros Sarbanes was born in Salisbury, Maryland in 1933, the son of Greek immigrant parents. After graduating *magna cum laude* from Princeton University as a scholarship student in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, he spent the next three years as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, studying economics and government. On his return, again as a scholarship student, he attended Harvard Law School, graduating *cum laude* in 1960.

In 1962-63 he was administrative assistant to Walter Heller, Chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisors.

In 1966 he was elected to Maryland's House of

Delegates from Baltimore City. He served on the House Ways and Means Committee, the Committee on Taxation and Fiscal Matters and the Committee on Legislative Organization and Procedure. Given his experience and education, it is hardly surprising that he came to be regarded as an expert on fiscal matters.

In 1968 he served as state coordinator for Senator Robert F. Kennedy's presidential campaign.

In 1970 Sarbanes announced his candidacy for the U.S. House of Representatives, challenging a thirteen-term Democratic incumbent, George Fallon, the powerful Chairman of the House Public Works Committee. Winning the primary by a margin of only 2,000 votes, Sarbanes garnered financial support both from individual, small contributors within his district and from national anti-war, labor and environmental organizations.

Two years later, Sarbanes found the boundaries of his congressional district radically altered by the Maryland Legislature, a change that pitted him in his first bid for re-election against a twelve-term Democratic incumbent, Edward Garmatz, Chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. But the 1972 primary was no repeat of 1970. Shortly before the primary election, Congressman Garmatz unexpectedly announced his retirement from the Congress.

In 1974, in his third run for Congress, there was no contest at all. Unopposed in the primary, Sarbanes carried his district in the general election with 84% of the vote.

In his three terms in Congress, Paul Sarbanes has consistently demonstrated that he shares with the Council a common and fundamental concern with reversing the disastrous course of the nuclear arms race, assigning a high priority to pursuit of effective arms control, reducing excessive military expenditure and reasserting the proper role of



Congress in foreign policy matters. He voted to halt production of the B-1 bomber, to cut funding for ABM, to require ACDA to report to Congress on the impact of major weapons programs on U.S. arms control policy and negotiations. He supported efforts to prohibit flight testing of MARV ballistic missile systems and to ban the export of nuclear fuel and technology to countries which were not parties to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

On these grounds alone, it would be hard to imagine a candidate whom we could recommend with greater enthusiasm, but there is another side of the Sarbanes record which tells a great deal about him as a person and a public official. Paul Sarbanes has strong convictions about his responsibilities toward the people who elected him. The staff of his Baltimore office devotes nearly full time to assisting constituents in solving individual problems that arise in their dealings with the various federal agencies such as the Social Security Administration, the Internal Revenue Service or the Veterans Administration. When the Administration proposed closing Baltimore's Public Health Service Hospital, he was instrumental in keeping it open, citing in support of his position estimates by the Maryland Hospital Association that other hospitals in the area were not equipped to handle the excess load.

Another conviction central to Sarbanes' public philosophy is that trust between citizens and public officials is a matter that "goes to the very heart of the Democratic system". Sarbanes, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, emphasized this theme in announcing his candidacy for the United States Senate. "As one who sat for many long months through the impeachment inquiry I understand and feel deeply the critical importance of integrity in our political process. There must be an essential feeling of mutual confidence and trust between the voters and their elected representatives".

With a filing deadline of March 8 the field of candidates in Maryland's Democratic Senate primary remains unsettled. Aside from two minor candidates, Paul Sarbanes and former Senator Joseph Tydings (1964-1970) are the only announced candidates at present. Among other possible candidates are Attorney General Francis Burch, a conservative, and Governor Marvin Mandel, now under federal indictment.

The Council is giving Congressman Sarbanes its highest recommendation for your support at this time, because we regard him as uniquely qualified on Council issues and the strongest candidate to oppose incumbent Senator J. Glenn Beall, Jr.

Senator Beall has established in his first term a record which reflects neither concern nor awareness of the dangers to United States security implicit in the international arms race. His uncritical support of military expenditures without regard to actual security requirements is documented in scores of votes. He voted against the amendment by Senators Brooke and McIntyre to delete research and development funding for counterforce weapons and a similar amendment by Senator Hathaway to delete research and development funding for the cruise missile system which is currently the principal obstacle preventing a successful conclusion of a second SALT agreement. He opposed Senator Symington's amendment placing a ceiling on overall military procurement and supported the Conference Report on expenditures for military procurement, which exceeded the budgetary guidelines and the actual amount previously voted by the Senate. Incidentally, the Conference Report was rejected in the Senate by a 48-42 vote.

The Maryland Senate race is not the first time that Paul Sarbanes has undertaken an uphill battle. For Council Supporters it is an excellent opportunity to play a crucial role in a crucial election.



# URGENT

The House of Representatives is expected to vote soon after Congress reconvenes on whether to uphold the historic Senate decision reached last month to cut off covert military operations in Angola.

The 54-22 passage of the Tunney Amendment marks the first time that a legislative body has voted to block a presidential decision to provide covert aid through the CIA to forces in a foreign country involved in internal struggle.

Should you wish to encourage House passage of the Senate position on Angola, the Council urges that you contact your U.S. Representative preferably by telegram\* or telephone immediately upon receipt of this letter. Ask that he or she vote in favor of the Bonker Resolution (D-Wash) or other resolutions which would prevent United States involvement in Angola.

The two major provisions of the Bonker Resolution are:

- 1) that the President should refrain from providing assistance of any kind, directly or indirectly, for military or paramilitary operations in Angola unless and until such assistance is specifically approved by Congress
- 2) the people of Angola should be allowed to determine their own political future without military interference from any foreign country

\* Telegram: Use local toll free Western Union number for special rates accorded *Public Opinion Message*, \$2.00 for fifteen words

Telephone: Use U.S. Capitol Switchboard number:  
(202) 224-3121

Write: U. S. House of Representatives  
U. S. Capitol  
Washington, D. C. 20515





# Council for a Livable World

February 18, 1976

Dear Council Supporter,

Shortly after you received our last letter the House voted by an overwhelming margin (323-99) to join the Senate in opposing further covert military funding for Angola. The potential for a disastrous U.S. involvement seems to have been avoided for the moment.

The Supreme Court decision on the Federal Election Campaign Act is expected to have little or no effect on Council fundraising and campaign support. The Court ruled out expenditure limits in congressional campaigns and declared unconstitutional several of the functions of the Federal Election Commission as presently appointed. The most immediate problem for the Congress is to find an alternate method for the administration of matching funds for presidential candidates.

Senator Edmund Muskie's campaign for reelection received a major boost when U.S. Rep. William Cohen (R-Me.) announced that he would not enter the Maine Senate race. His opponent is now expected to be Robert Monks who unsuccessfully challenged former Senator Margaret Chase Smith in the 1972 Republican Senate primary. Monks is not a candidate of interest to the Council.

Muskie is considered a heavy favorite, and the Council foresees no reason for substantial involvement. However, on Council issues Senator Muskie has established a distinguished record which deserves our recognition. Accordingly, under our new incumbents policy, the Council made a contribution of \$2000 from its own funds to the Muskie campaign.

With permission from Council Supporter J. R. Keys of Tallahassee, Florida, we would like to share with you excerpts from his letter to us explaining why he contributed to the Sarbanes' campaign instead of to the Council as suggested by the alphabetical arrangement in our last mailing.

(over)

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Mr. Keys wrote: "I was privileged to see Paul Sarbanes at work when he was in the Maryland House of Delegates; at that time (1970), I was working for the General Assembly, and quickly saw that he was one of the 'brightest stars' in that body. He would, of course, be a tremendous asset to my native state, which has so much to be depressed about, given its recent gloomy political history. He made me proud to be a Marylander when he conducted himself so well during the Nixon Impeachment Hearings, and I know he would likewise make me proud of his conduct as a U. S. Senator."

Our response to Mr. Keys pointed out that "obviously individual Supporters will from time to time have good reason to pursue their own course." The alphabetical division in our appeals is intended to help you send your contribution where it is needed most, but the final decision is, and should be, your own.

The pace of the Democratic Senate primary in Maryland, set for May 3rd, is stepping up rapidly. Speculation continues that Democratic Governor Marvin Mandel, though under federal indictment, may further complicate the race by announcing his own candidacy.

For Council endorsed candidate Paul Sarbanes it is essential to make a strong showing in the primary and to establish a momentum which will carry over to the difficult encounter with incumbent Republican Senator Glen Beall in the general.

Council support of Paul Sarbanes got off to a good start last month, but much more is needed now when it can be used most effectively.

In case you mislaid the profile of Sarbanes we mailed last month, another copy is enclosed for your convenience. Please make a contribution as indicated on the enclosed card.

Sincerely,

*William Doering*

William Doering  
President





**Council  
for a Livable  
World**

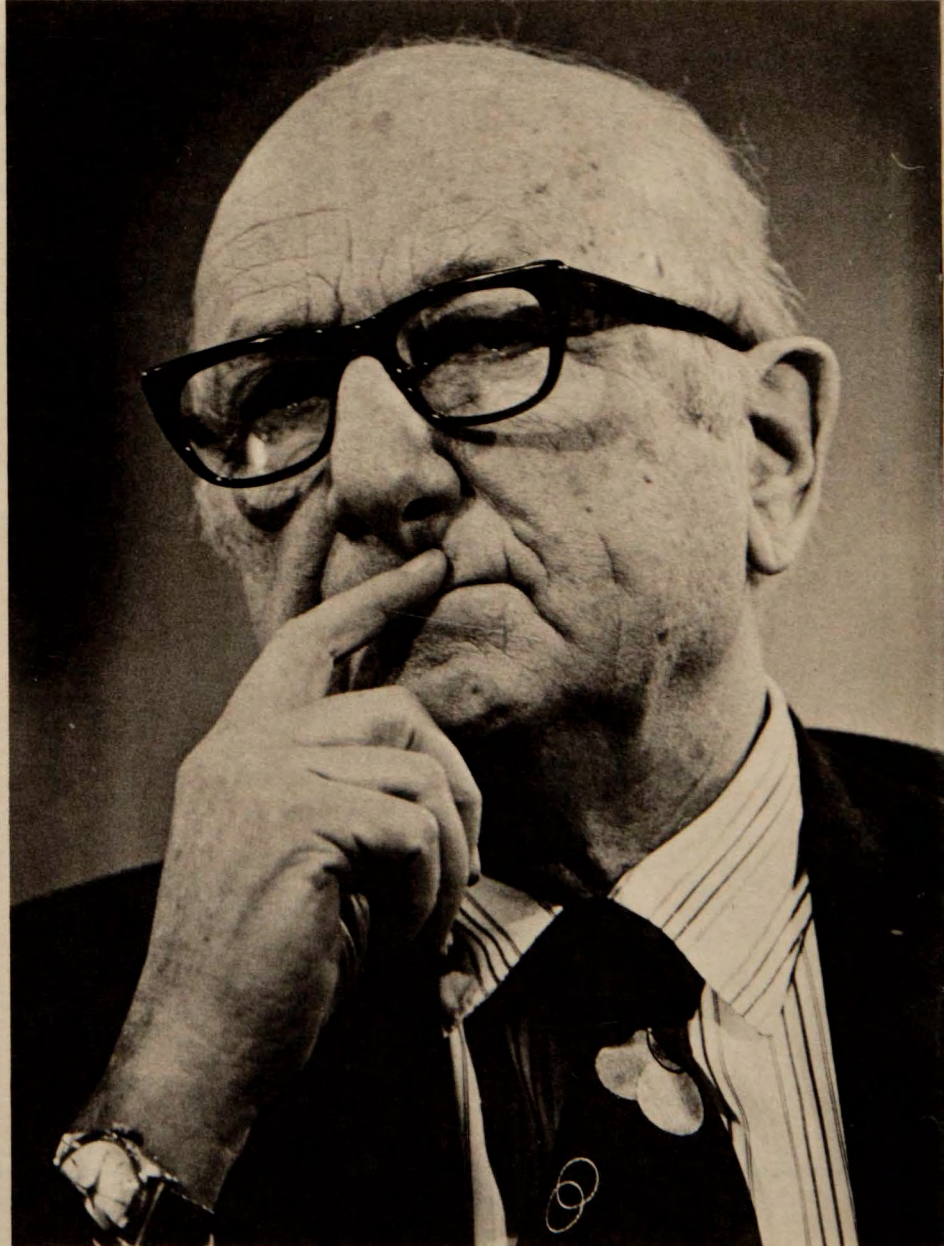


**Looking at the spread of nuclear weapons,  
the first chairman of the Atomic Energy  
Commission tells the U.S. Senate:**

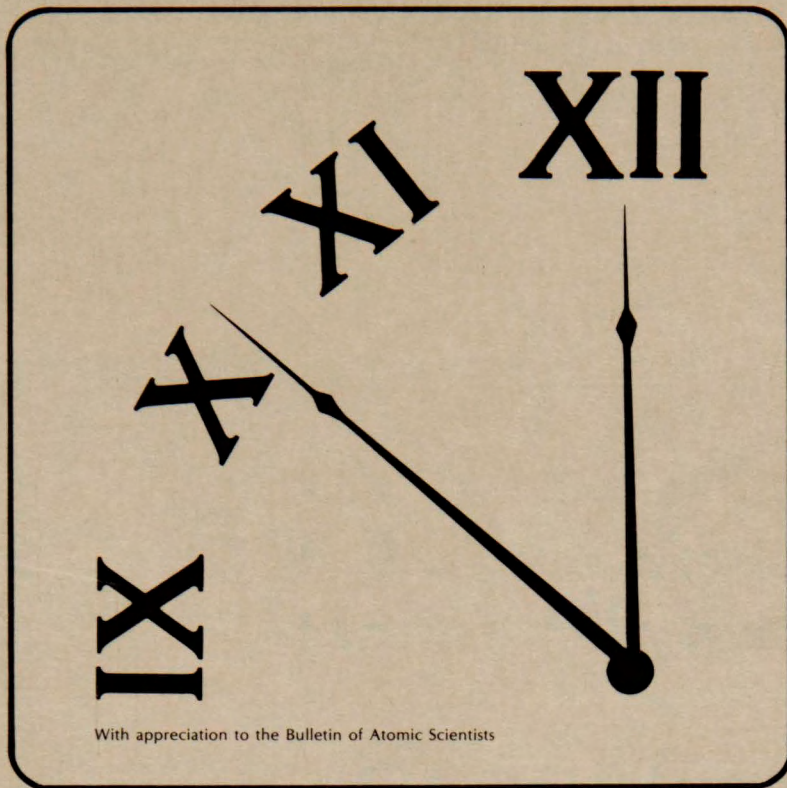
**“I’m glad  
I’m not a young man  
and I’m sorry  
for my grandchildren.”**

(David E. Lilienthal, Washington, D.C., January 19, 1976)

By permission from the Washington Post, staff photographer, James K.W. Atherton







With appreciation to the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists

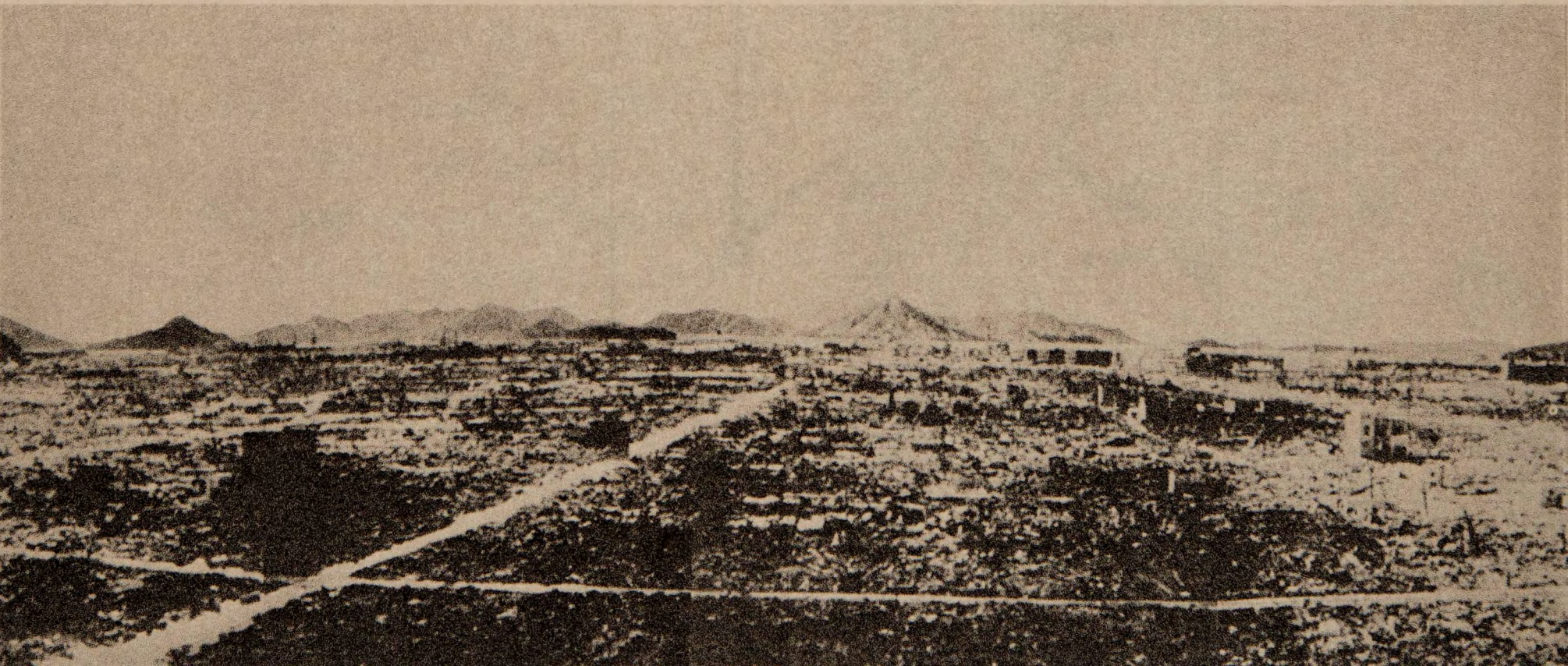
8... 7... 6... 5...

Soon the time will be ...



**Too Late.**

Hiroshima, August 6, 1945





Today . . .

**U.S. nuclear kill power  
is the equivalent of  
615,385 'Hiroshimas'.**

Tomorrow . . .

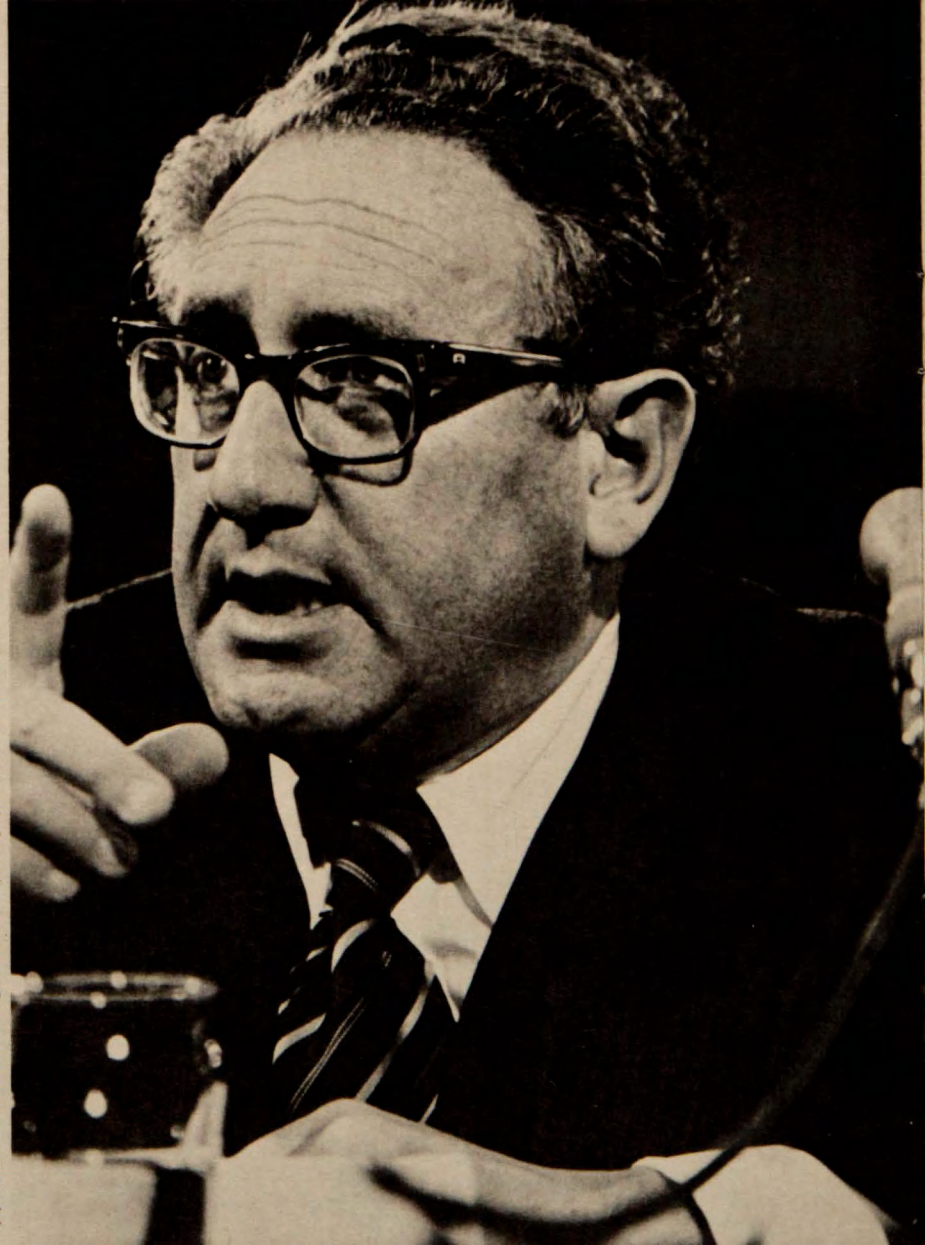


**“Nuclear catastrophe —  
whether by plan or mistake,  
accident, theft or blackmail —  
is no longer implausible.”**

(Henry Kissinger, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, July 14, 1975)

**Despite this warning,  
Mr. Kissinger continues to pursue  
the strategy of ‘limited’ nuclear war;  
and further fails to disavow ‘first use’  
of nuclear weapons by this country.**

By permission from the Washington Post, staff photographer, James K.W. Atherton





In contrast Mr. Lilienthal urges the Senate:

**“Let’s do  
what we can do  
alone. . .**

**Let’s see whether  
American leadership,  
American diplomacy,  
American economic and  
moral pressure,  
American withholding, a revival  
in American pride in our record,  
cannot give us, and therefore  
the world, a course of action  
to avoid the pending disaster.”**

By permission from U.S. Atomic Energy Commission photographer, Ed Westcott





**And We — the Council for a Livable World — Urge You:**

**As one American, to join with us to stop the race to extinction . . .  
bring sense . . . exert influence . . . take responsibility . . .  
by helping to get the right people elected to the Senate  
in the first place. Not just in your state, but all across  
the country — wherever progressive candidates are running  
and stand a real chance of winning.**

**Remember:**

**It is the Senate that consents to treaties,  
approves cabinet posts,  
and carries major responsibility for foreign policy;**

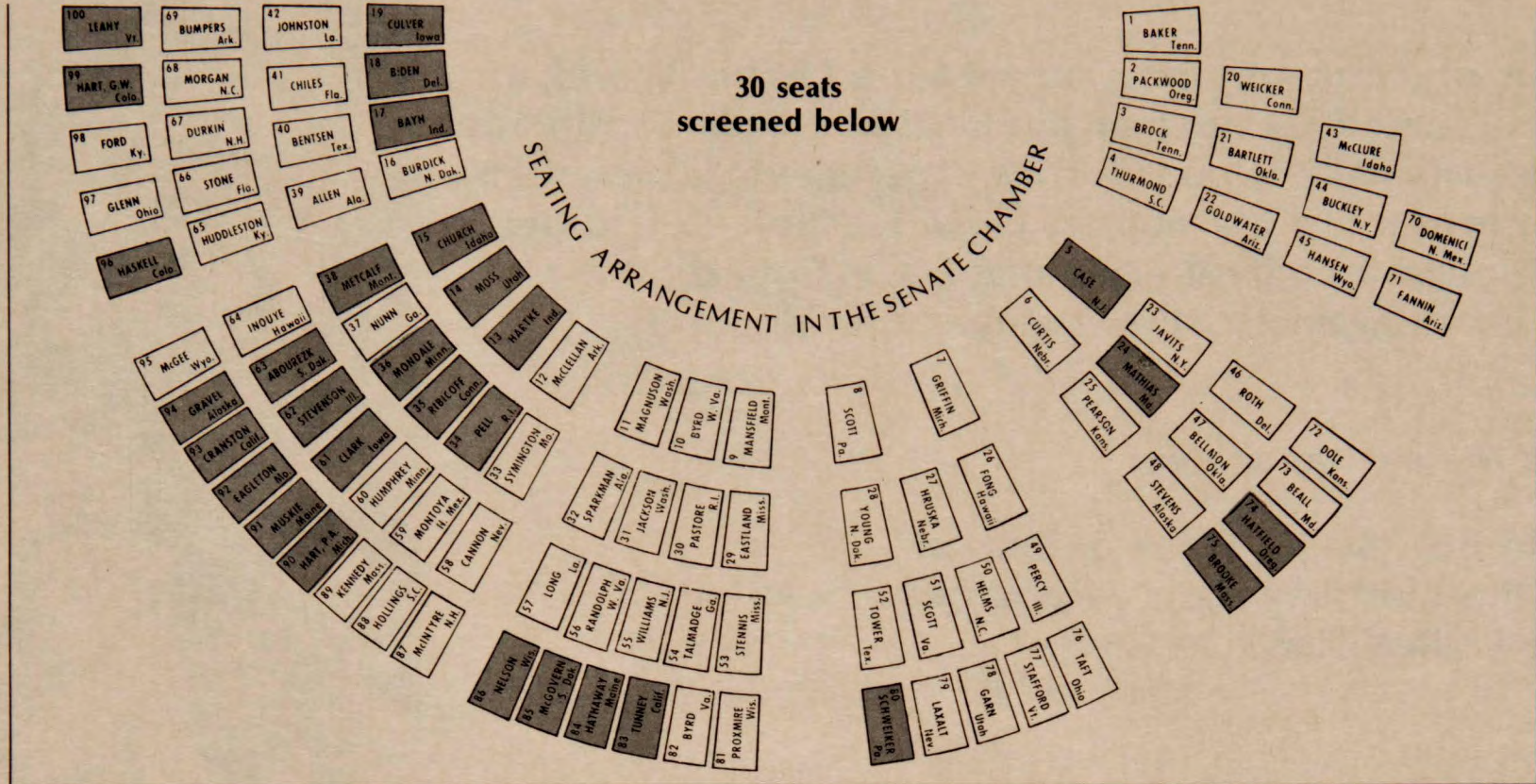
**It is the Senate that traditionally takes the lead,  
sets the pace,  
and counters the Executive abuses.**

**In short, it is the Senate that represents you in matters of war, and peace.**



## Start With 30

Thus far just 14,000 people, with one common goal, have supported and helped to elect 30 United States Senators; 30 Senators who believe that averting nuclear war is the first business of the Congress, of the world.





**Those 14,000 People Are The 'Supporters' Of The Council for a Livable World.**

**They, and the Senators they helped to elect, are committed to a legacy of common sense, and common survival.**

**Our organization, the Council for a Livable World, was created by nuclear physicist Leo Szilard. Already internationally famous for his experiments in unraveling the mystery of the nuclear chain reaction, Szilard began to design a political experiment, the Council, to guard against further misuse of his discovery.**

**His theory was simple:**

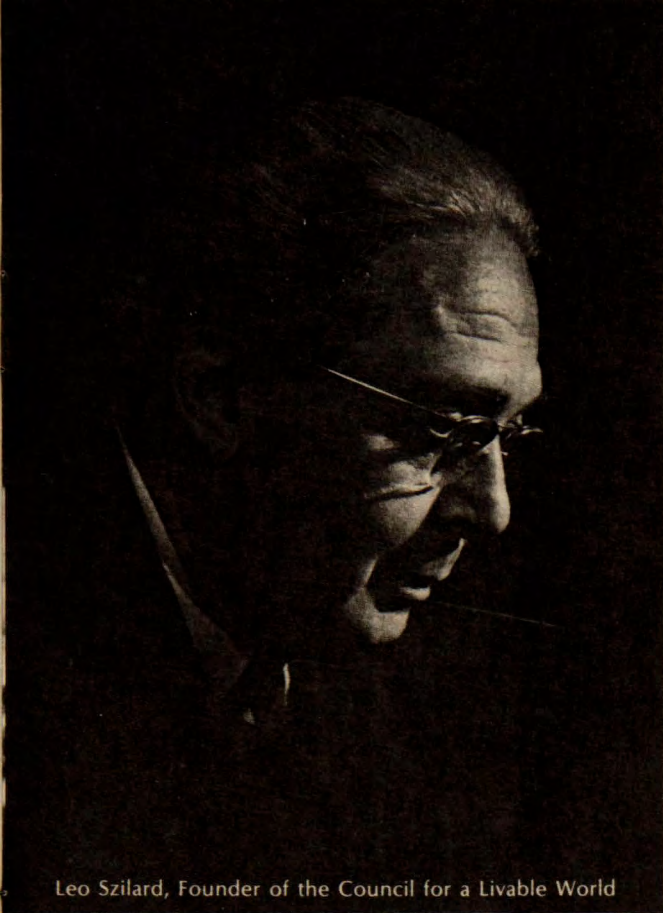
**Add the "Sweet Voice of Reason" to the most important legislative body — the United States Senate.**

Leo Szilard, Nuclear Physicist



Photograph by Heka





Leo Szilard, Founder of the Council for a Livable World

Lotte Meiner-Craf, London

## **Build a Council for a Livable World.**

**Let it lobby the Senate to reduce nuclear weapons,  
Let it draft legislation to control the military,  
Let it bring the most authoritative speakers  
to address the Senate.**

**— But first and foremost —**

**Let it report to the people  
where to put their money and when . . .  
which races, which candidates, and at what time.**

**Through the Council, Supporters have come to expect  
success — 10 winners in '74, another 10 in '72 — but they  
value the Council for something even more important. . .**



... Hope.

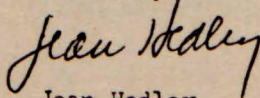
Dear Council Friends,

Here is my \$30 -- I was going to get some new slacks and a blouse, but, God knows we need your help a lot more than I need a new outfit. I was beginning to despair of my children and grandchildren inheriting a decent country in which to grow up and flourish.

I haven't had such high spirits in years. I didn't know you existed. Incidentally, I just mailed \$15 to Mr. Cranston. Please use this \$30 in whatever way you see fit.

I'll try to send more next month.

Sincerely,



Jean Hedley

Meet one.





## Meet The Senators.

### Check their performance on nuclear and military issues:

**Senator Abourezk (D-S.D.)** introduced an amendment to prohibit the CIA from engaging in "dirty tricks" operations not related to intelligence gathering, thereby forcing the first public debate on the hitherto off-limits subject.

**Senator Bayh (D-Ind.)** cosponsored the pending resolution calling for a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

**Senator Biden (D-Del.)** cosponsored pending resolution to halt shipment of nuclear equipment and technology abroad until new safeguards can be worked out to prevent further spread of nuclear weapons.

**Senator Brooke (R-Mass.)** sponsored an amendment to strike funds for the research and development of the so-called counterforce strategy, fearing that this strategy ultimately lessens the inhibitions on the use of nuclear weapons.

**Senator Case (R-N.J.)** authored and sponsored the law requiring the Administration to submit to Congress copies of all Executive Agreements made with other nations.

**Senator Clark (D-Iowa)** authored and led to

passage reform of seniority system in the Senate by requiring committee chairmanships to be submitted to a secret ballot by senate members.

**Senator Cranston (D-Calif.)** sponsored an amendment to cut off United States aid to dictatorship countries and repressive governments. (pending in committee)

**Senator Church (D-Idaho)** coauthored the famous Cooper-Church Amendment prohibiting the return of U.S. ground combat troops to Laos and Cambodia.

**Senator Culver (D-Iowa)** authored and led to passage amendment to assure a closer linkage between U.S. foreign policy and the military budget, by requiring the Secretary of Defense to consult with the Secretary of State and submit a detailed report to the appropriate committees explaining how U.S. foreign policy and the military budget interrelate.

**Senator Eagleton (D-Mo.)** cosponsored successful amendment to require the President to give Congress an annual report on defense expenditures.

**Senator Gravel (D-Alaska)** sponsored amend-

ment disallowing the use of military funds to increase U.S. troop divisions abroad.

**Senator Gary Hart (D-Colo.)** authored successful senate amendment to delete all funds for research development and production of nerve gas weapons.

**Senator Philip Hart (D-Mich.)** led the effort to stop deployment of the Safeguard ABM System; and authored the 1974 Amendments to the Freedom of Information Act which allows citizens to review and correct files held by federal investigatory agencies.

**Senator Hartke (D-Ind.)** authored pending bill asking for creation of a Department of Peace to have equal footing with Departments of Defense and State which would coordinate and devise means of reducing world conflicts.

**Senator Haskell (D-Colo.)** sponsor pending Tax Reform Act of 1975 which would end many tax loopholes and special interest subsidies.

**Senator Hatfield (R-Ore.)** cosponsored the celebrated Hatfield-McGovern amendment in 1970 to cut off all funds for the Vietnam war by a set date.



**Senator Hathaway (D-Maine)** cosponsored amendment to delete funds for first-strike capability guidance systems thereby decreasing the "hair trigger" on nuclear war.

**Senator Leahy (D-Vermont)** cosponsored pending bill to impose a six months moratorium of all arms sales to the Persian gulf states unless otherwise authorized by the Congress and the Executive jointly.

**Senator Mathias (R-Md.)** authored pending resolution calling for multilateral reduction of existing stock of nuclear weapons; and cosponsored the pending bill limiting President's use of emergency powers to broaden scope of Executive authority.

**Senator McGovern (D-S.D.)** introduced Defense Economic Adjustment Act to facilitate economic adjustment of communities, industries, and workers who may be seriously affected by reductions in Defense contracts and facilities.

**Senator Metcalf (D-Mont.)** cosponsored and led to passage Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 making it possible to

determine more effectively the priorities between military programs and social programs.

**Senator Mondale (D-Minn.)** introduced pending resolution to stop international transfer of plutonium separation and uranium enrichment facilities overseas until effective international safeguards can be devised.

**Senator Moss (D-Utah)** cosponsored successful amendment to prevent testing of MARV warheads on any missile.

**Senator Muskie (D-Maine)** led fight as chairman of the new Budget Senate Committee in which the Senate defeated for the first time in history the Military Procurement conference report.

**Senator Nelson (D-Wisc.)** authored and guided to passage amendment requiring the Administration to report to Congress any proposed individual arms sales over \$25 million to a foreign country.

**Senator Pell (D-R.I.)** introduced resolution urging that U.S. seek agreement with other countries banning environmental warfare, such as weather modification. The resolution contained a model

draft treaty similar to the one recently initialled in Geneva by the U.S. & Russia.

**Senator Ribicoff (D-Conn.)** authored and managed the legislation which abolished the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and reorganized its regulatory and promotional activities into separate independent agencies, and which created a high level office in the new Nuclear Regulatory Commission to deal with domestic and international safeguards problems.

**Senator Schweiker (R-Penn.)** authored amendment for independent audit of major Defense contracts thus forcing attention to cost overrun factor in Defense Department contracts.

**Senator Stevenson (D-Ill.)** introduced pending amendment to bar Export Import Bank assistance of sales of nuclear technology and materials to nations which are not parties to the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty.

**Senator Tunney (D-Calif.)** introduced resolution in 1975 condemning Turkish invasion of Cyprus and proposed arms embargo to Turkey later enacted into law.

**30 Senate seats are good —  
but not enough.  
We won't stop until we have a majority —  
at least 51 Senators.**

**Want to help?**



## The '76 Elections Are On.

Already the Council is looking at 8 critical races where your support could make a difference:

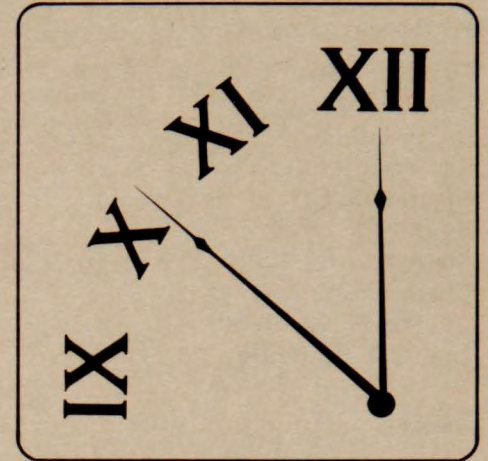
Maryland  
Michigan

Pennsylvania  
Arizona

Hawaii  
Ohio

Delaware  
Vermont

Now,  
right now,  
the timing  
couldn't be better  
to turn back the clock  
and restore the  
"Sweet Voice of Reason".











# Council for a Livable World

April 30, 1976

Dear Council Supporter,

Democratic Congressman John Melcher of Montana is running for the Senate seat from which Majority Leader Mike Mansfield is retiring.

The retirements of Senator Mansfield, Senator Hart of Michigan, and Senator Symington of Missouri represent three potentially serious setbacks to our efforts to build a progressive and independent Senate. At least in Montana, we see an outstanding opportunity to prevent one such loss.

Congressman Melcher is one of the most impressive of the younger legislators in the House. He now holds the promise of becoming a great addition to the Senate. An outline of his accomplishments is provided in the enclosed profile, which we hope you will keep for future reference with the other profiles you received earlier.

In an election year when our mailings are focused on the Senate campaigns it is easy to overlook the ongoing activities of the Council's legislative program. One major area of Council concern is the nuclear cruise missile, a newcomer to the strategic arsenal. The cruise missile has been billed by the Administration as yet another bargaining chip for the SALT talks, but as with previous 'bargaining chips' it is far more than that. It is inexpensive by comparison with other strategic weapons and easily concealed from the satellites which monitor mutually agreed levels of ballistic deployment. The cruise missile can operate at an altitude below the current capacity of radar to detect and can employ a terminal guidance system which assures an accuracy within 50-100 feet of the intended target.

These characteristics threaten to undo previous efforts to negotiate a limit on the number of offensive strategic weapons deployed by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. They also offer a cheap and effective delivery system to countries which may acquire nuclear war heads but lack the technology to develop a ballistic system.

(over)

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Recently the Council held a seminar on the cruise missile. Hosted by Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Senator John Sparkman (D - Ala) and ranking minority member Senator Clifford Case (R - N.J.), the seminar was attended by twenty-five Senators and by selected staff members from House and Senate Committees. Dr. Harold Brown, President of Cal Tech and former Secretary of the Air Force, spoke on the nuclear cruise missile, its impact on the arms race and problems of verification if the cruise missile is to be subject to a general, negotiated limit on offensive strategic weapons.

The active participation of Senators in the lively discussion which followed Dr. Brown's presentation demonstrated the valuable role which accurate and timely information can play in the legislative process. We were especially encouraged by the number of Senators attending who had had no previous contact with the Council.

In this letter we are asking your support for John Melcher in Montana and for the Council's ongoing activities in Washington.

Unless you have a preference to the contrary, please make your check payable to Melcher for Senate if your last name begins with one of the letters L - Z. If your last name begins with one of the letters A - K, please make your contribution to the Council for a Livable World.

Sincerely,

*William Doering*

William Doering  
President

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

William Doering President	John Melcher Secretary	Clifford Case Member	John Sparkman Member	Harold Brown Member
...	...	...	...	...





## Thomas Salmon

Council Supported Candidate  
Democrat-Vermont

A - G

In Vermont two term Democratic Governor Tom Salmon is challenging incumbent Republican Senator Robert Stafford. The race is currently rated a toss-up and is likely to be decided by a narrow margin.

Tom Salmon was raised in Massachusetts where he attended Boston University and Boston University Law School. In 1958 he moved to Vermont, settling in Bellows Falls where he practiced law. In 1965 he was elected to the Vermont House of Representatives. He served four terms in the legislature and in 1969 was elected House Minority Leader and Chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

In 1972 Tom Salmon was elected governor. During two terms his administration has been characterized by sustained efforts to protect Vermont's unique environment. As part of that effort a gains tax was imposed on profits from land speculation and the proceeds used to help fund a tax rebate for elderly homeowners. Effective non-returnable bottle and container legislation was passed. Save for a few stragglers from the past Vermont is now a state without billboards.

Among his fellow governors Tom Salmon is especially respected for his efforts in the area of energy, a critical issue in New England where energy costs exceed the national average by 30 percent. He was selected by the National

**"When we speak of foreign policy, we must start with the notion that we are but one planet with one environment, which must be preserved and protected. We are human beings before we are Americans, or Russians, or Africans. It is as human beings that we must all face the problems of terrorism, nuclear proliferation, pollution and an overcrowded world which is running out of resources, and food, and time."**

Governor's Conference to head the Committee on Natural Resources and the Environment.

Commenting on the work of that Committee, Governor Lamm of Colorado wrote: "We have come a great way [toward] seeing that federal energy programs are responsive to our people in each of the fifty states. This is due primarily to your personal grasp of national energy programs and your ability to exert a quality of national leadership." Governor Anderson of Minnesota commented: "What has most impressed your colleagues in the National Governors' Conference is your courageous willingness to involve your Committee . . . in some of the toughest issues of our time."

Of more immediate concern to the Council is a recent campaign address by Governor Salmon on foreign policy excerpted for relevant passages.

"We tend to respond automatically and, at times, to interject ourselves into situations where it is not necessarily in our national interest to do so. The tragedy of Vietnam stands as a monument to the folly of this traditional approach to foreign policy; this inflexible way of looking at the world and America's place in it . . ."

"I run against this kind of foreign policy; against this notion that American must control



the course of human events at all times and in all places and under all circumstances . . .”

“We need a new internationalism which reflects an understanding of the world as it is and as we would like it to be. We must recognize that the resources of the United States are limited and that the leverage they create must be used wisely . . . .”

“We must harness all of our resources into an integrated foreign policy to promote those values of individual liberty, social justice and economic opportunity for which we have come to be admired throughout the world . . .”

“To the extent we create a world in which these values are cherished, we create a world in which America’s security is safe and its leadership assured.”

Salmon’s opponent, Senator Robert Stafford, is a moderate Republican elected to the Senate in 1970. On issues of arms control and a rational defense policy Stafford’s record is in disheartening contrast with his votes in other legislative areas.

He has opposed efforts to defer testing of both the strategic cruise missile and maneuverable warheads (MARV) for ballistic missiles. He has consistently supported the controversial B-1 bomber and the airborne warning and control system (AWACS). He voted no on the Kennedy amendment to dismantle the Safeguard ABM site in North Dakota which was adopted in the Senate by a vote of 52-47.

With so little time remaining we urge you to contribute now to Salmon for Vermont.





## James R. Sasser

### Council Supported Candidate Democrat-Tennessee

H - O

**"We should learn our lesson from Vietnam, and insist that the American people and Congress have an active role in the formulation of our foreign policy."**

### **The Tennessee Primary: Sasser climbs from 4% to 44% to win**

On August 5 James Sasser won a startling upset in the Tennessee Democratic Senate primary. In the general election he faces incumbent Senator William Brock, who first won election to the Senate in 1970 by defeating former Senator Albert Gore.

In July the Council became actively involved in the Sasser primary campaign with an emergency telephone appeal for funds. As in the case of Don Riegle in Michigan, it was an involvement on our part that we could not foresee when we wrote to you in June.

The story of the Tennessee Democratic Senate primary is an interesting one, perhaps particularly interesting for those Supporters who only now are learning of the Council's involvement.

When Jim Sasser resigned as Democratic State Chairman in February this year to prepare his campaign, he was widely respected within the state party but virtually unknown to the voters of Tennessee. Even in late May when he formally announced, political polls showed him with only 4% support among potential primary voters.

At that time the clear front runner was John J. Hooker, a seasoned campaigner and a gubernatorial candidate in two past unsuccessful campaigns. Hooker's broad recognition was a mixed blessing, as voters were sharply divided in their attitudes toward him. The other can-

didates in the primary were little known and with one exception inadequately funded.

Sasser's first objective was to establish himself as the clear alternative to the front runner. Months of active campaigning bore fruit in June with endorsements by the Tennessee Voters Council, a statewide organization of black voters; the state AFL-CIO; and the Ministers Independent Council, an organization of black ministers in the greater Memphis area. Also in June the Sasser campaign was joined by campaign veterans from the presidential primaries.

By July the Tennessee press was describing the primary as a two-way race between Hooker, still perceived as the front runner, and Jim Sasser, now clearly his major opponent.

In the August 5th primary the returns showed Sasser winning with a commanding margin of 44-31 over Hooker. (The remaining votes were scattered among the other five candidates.)

The Tennessee primary upset, together with Don Riegle's primary victory in Michigan, substantially improves the prospect for progressive gains in the 1976 Senate races.

### **Jim Sasser**

Jim Sasser is a practicing attorney in Nashville. In March 1973 he was elected Chairman of the Tennessee Democratic Party, a position which he used skillfully to restore the party's lagging finances and to begin to bring together a heavily factionalized party. During his tenure he was widely respected for his fairness and his openness.



Sasser is a former Council supporter, the first supporter in the Council's history to emerge as a major Senate candidate. He has served as a board member of the Nashville Council of Christians and Jews, past president of the Nashville United Nations Association and former Executive Secretary of the Nashville Committee on Foreign Relations.

In an endorsement editorial the *Chattanooga Times* wrote that "His bright and warm personality, his thoughtful analyses of today's problems and his progressive attitudes toward possible answers by concerted action through government where necessary, are bringing him wide and appreciative attention."

After representatives of the Council's Board met with him, there was general agreement that Jim Sasser is one of the outstanding candidates whom we have recommended for support.

## **William Brock**

Sasser is challenging incumbent Senator William Brock. In the United States Senate Brock has established a record of uncritical support for almost every Pentagon spending proposal and an unawareness of, if not indifference toward, the dangers of the nuclear arms race. Although a self-professed fiscal conservative, he opposed deferring procurement authorization for the controversial B-1 bomber pending completion of current testing and a careful review of the findings. He supported efforts to exempt defense intelligence from the jurisdiction of the newly created Senate Intelligence Committee and voted *no* on the creation of the Committee itself. He was absent for the key vote to bar funds for covert military operations in Angola which the Senate approved by a margin of better than two to one.

These sample votes are representative of a uniformly dreary record. Even outside the areas of immediate Council concern it is difficult in the case of Senator Brock to find a redeeming record of votes on any major issue of public concern.

Brock will be a formidable opponent. In a press interview Jim Sasser acknowledged that Brock "has all the advantages of being an in-

cumbent and takes advantage of them." He is generally considered to have one of the best political organizations in recent Tennessee political history.

In a feature article the *Washington Star* described Senator Brock's mailing program to Tennessee constituents:

... a sophisticated computer operation which cross-references some 2.5 million names culled from voter registration rolls, drivers' license lists and similar sources with census tract data on income, occupation, race, etc.

"We can pull farmers, teachers, senior citizens, blue collar groups — you name it — and target our mailings pretty precisely," Brock said.

The 1970 Senate race, when Brock was first elected to the Senate, offers an insight into his style of political campaigning. In the same article the *Star* recalled:

He ousted veteran Democrat Albert Gore in 1970 after a bruising campaign which incorporated all of the 'radic-lib' themes and rhetoric of the Nixon-Agnew political strategists.

Both Nixon and Agnew, in fact, made multiple appearances in the state on Brock's behalf, with Billy Graham thrown in for good measure.

## **Former Senator Gore Remembered**

In the 1970 Senate election, Jim Sasser was Senator Gore's coordinator for the 5th Congressional District. The defeat of Albert Gore was very much in his mind when he announced his own candidacy this year:

My decision to wage this campaign was made a long time ago. As I stood with many of you in November of 1970, surrounded by the shambles of the Democratic Party, I resolved then to help to rebuild our great party, and to recapture the seat in the United States Senate for the people of Tennessee.

Jim Sasser has come a long way toward fulfilling his resolve, but the toughest battle lies ahead. Council Supporters will understand the importance of one seat in the United States Senate for the people of Tennessee and for the country as a whole. We urge you to contribute generously to the *Jim Sasser for Senate Committee*.





# Dennis DeConcini

## Council Endorsed Candidate Democrat - Arizona

A - G

In the Arizona senate election thirty-nine year old Dennis DeConcini is opposed by five-term Congressman Sam Steiger. The race is for the seat from which Senator Paul Fanin is retiring.

Dennis DeConcini is a native of Tucson where he practiced law for many years. In 1965-67 he served first as Special Council and then Administrative Assistant to former Governor Samuel Goddard. In 1974 he managed the successful campaign of Arizona's present Governor, Raul Castro.

In November, 1972, DeConcini was elected Pima County (Tucson) Attorney, a position which he held until entering this year's senate race. His outstanding performance as County Attorney is reminiscent of the earlier career of Vermont's Senator Patrick Leahy who served with distinction as Chittendon County (Burlington) State's Attorney prior to his election to the United States Senate in 1974.

Particularly in the area of criminal justice DeConcini has proven to be an effective and innovative leader. He initiated a model program wherein first-time offenders are allowed to work, with the consent of the victim, towards full repayment and rehabilitation. The Adult Diversion Program has been adopted in many communities across the country, because as DeConcini notes, the program "has been 95% successful in keeping these offenders from becoming repeat criminals. It has also allowed us to use our manpower more effectively."

The many people who had hoped to nominate the woman candidate, Carolyn

**Based on the history of the nuclear arms race since World War II there can be no doubt that efforts for effective and enforceable arms control are long overdue and must be given the utmost priority.**

Warner, in the Arizona primary will be particularly interested in the DeConcini record. A strong advocate of the equal rights amendment, DeConcini put his convictions into practice in the County Attorney's office. Six women were employed as deputy prosecutors where there had been none when he was elected. Now three of six divisions of that office are headed by women, and at all levels the pay scales are comparable with men.

On current defense posture DeConcini argues that "no responsible person will question the need for a strong defense, but we have every reason to question the assumption that a continued escalation in armaments, based on numbers alone, is any real guarantee of security at all."

In the September 7 primary DeConcini defeated his two opponents easily, winning 53% of the total vote.

His opponent in the general election, five-term Congressman Sam Steiger, has earned the reputation of a blunt, if somewhat unpredictable spokesman for conservative causes. In an article on the Arizona senate race the *New York Times* noted that "Steiger is disliked intensely by environmental groups because of his opposition to strip-mining bills and his financial support from coal companies."

On legislation of immediate interest to the Council Steiger's record has been consistently negative over the years. In 1976, perhaps due to the pressures of campaigning, he was absent



for five key votes, although "paired against" on two. In 1975 he missed five of eight key votes, voting no on the other three occasions.

Steiger narrowly defeated his primary opponent John Conlan in a contest which Arizona Republicans freely acknowledge was one of the bitterest in the state's political history. It is also focused on one of the more bizarre episodes in this year's congressional races. Reporting a comment of John Conlan that "Sam has too many skeletons in his closet to win against the Democrats," *the Washington Post* continued:

Those skeletons include the bones of two tame burros Steiger shot and killed last year. Steiger frequently has been asked to explain the incident. Often, he suspects, by persons planted by Conlan.

He replies the burros were attacking him and he shot in self-defense.

However, the burro killings issue assumed renewed vigor earlier this month when a state investigation, initiated at the request of the burros' owner, disclosed that both "attacking burros" were actually shot from the rear.

"I may have a great career in the Congress and pass all kinds of bills to save America, and I'll always be remembered as the guy who shot the burros," Steiger said.

Despite the bitterness of Republican feuding in the primary, Dennis DeConcini faces a difficult challenge in the general election. Arizona meets traditional Council criteria completely. It is a small state, the need for financial support is acute and there is a sharp distinction between the two nominees.

We urge you to contribute generously to *De-Concini for Senate Committee.*

**Please save this profile until November 2nd. We will refer to it in future mailings.**





# William J. Green

## Council Supported Candidate Democrat - Pennsylvania

Sk - Z

In the Pennsylvania senate election Democratic Congressman William Green is opposed by Republican Congressman John Heinz III. Their race for the seat from which Republican Minority Leader Hugh Scott is retiring is expected to be decided by a narrow margin.

Bill Green was first elected to the House in 1964 to fill the seat left vacant by his father's death. He soon found himself at odds with Philadelphia's Democratic machine. In 1968 he backed Robert Kennedy while the Democratic City Committee endorsed Hubert Humphrey. In 1971, the split became final when Green filed in the mayor's race against the hard-line Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, the hand picked candidate of the Democratic chieftains. The Congressman waged a vigorous and hard fought campaign, but lost the Democratic primary.

In retribution for running against the machine, his House district was decimated, and he was forced to run for reelection in 1972 against an eleven term machine-backed incumbent. Green carried the district with 58% of the vote. The win proved decisive, and in the next primary he was unopposed. These battles with the Philadelphia machine marked a turning point in Bill Green's career.

With impressive seniority on the Ways and Means Committee despite his young age he might have quietly bided his time and inherited the powerful chairmanship from his elders, but in 1974 he challenged then Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark) on the perennial issue of the oil

**"Our foreign policy can't be pursued in secret with our leaders anticipating our acquiescence in the name of patriotism."**

depletion allowance. When he lost his fight in committee, he took it to the Democratic Caucus, the first member of the House to invoke successfully a new rule whereby a majority in the Caucus was able to force a floor vote. Mills stalled the measure until too late to act upon it, but in 1975 Green once more brought the issue to the Caucus and this time despite the opposition of Speaker Carl Albert (D-Okla) and the new Ways and Means Chairman Al Ullman (D-Ore) the issue was brought to the floor.

On February 27, 1975, the House voted 248-163 to repeat the oil depletion allowance, the first time in fifty years that the powerful oil lobby had been unable to prevent a straight up-or-down vote on the House floor.

On issues of immediate concern to the Council, Bill Green's record is outstanding. He was the first Pennsylvania Congressman to oppose the Vietnam War. For three years, in 1971-3, he joined a minority of his colleagues in voting against the military appropriation authorization bill in protest at the inflated level of funding set by Appropriation's hard-line Subcommittee on Defense. In 1975 he voted to delete funds for binary nerve gas production, to require disclosure of CIA funding and to prohibit flight testing of maneuverable reentry vehicles. He voted against the B-1 bomber and funds in excess of President Ford's request for the F-111 fighter.

Green's opponent is U.S. Rep. John Heinz III, an heir to the soup fortune. He is a moderate Republican who was first elected to Congress in 1971.



On issues of arms control and a rational defense policy, as so often with moderate Republicans, the Heinz record is in disheartening contrast with his votes in other legislative areas.

He opposed deferment of funding for the AWACS command and control aircraft pending NATO endorsement of the project, and also opposed deferment of funding for the B-1 pending further testing of the controversial bomber. He voted no on the Leggett Amendment to prohibit flight testing of the maneuverable reentry vehicle (MARV) on ballistic missile systems, and was

opposed to the Long Amendment to provide adequate safeguards on the export of nuclear fuels and technology to non-nuclear countries with the potential to develop nuclear weapons.

The Pennsylvania senate race is expected to be close, and adequate funding will be critical for Bill Green's campaign. Heinz is expected to spend lavishly from his personal fortune. In the senate primary the records show an expenditure of \$586,000 from his own funds.

We urge you to contribute generously to the Green for Senate Committee.

**Please save this profile until November 2nd. We will refer to it in future mailings.**





# Howard Metzenbaum

## Council Endorsed Candidate Democrat - Ohio

P - Si

The 1976 Ohio senate race between former Senator Howard Metzenbaum and incumbent Senator Robert Taft is a rematch of the Senate election six years ago. Senator Taft won the 1970 race by the narrow margin of 51 - 49. This year, the election promises to be a close one again.

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* in a recent article offers perhaps the best concise description of the contest.

... the Metzenbaum — Taft campaign could be an interesting one, and perhaps an instructive one. Both men are straightforward proponents of opposite points of view — and if they stick to the issues, they could give the electorate a clear choice.

Metzenbaum has a great deal to recommend himself to the voters who have an awareness of the 20th century. He is a friend of organized labor and has worked hard on its behalf ... He is not enamored of wares; he is extremely skeptical about the so-called energy crisis, and he has a genuine feeling for the poor and disenfranchised.

Taft is a formidable opponent for Metzenbaum ... He is an honest and unhypocritical conservative; he believes in a large military establishment, and he echoes most if not all of the traditional GOP views on domestic spending. He is a perfectly decent and honorable man.

In January 1974, Howard Metzenbaum was appointed to the senate seat vacated by retiring Senator William Saxbe. He served as senator only one year, suffering defeat by former astronaut, now Senator John Glenn in the May, 1974 Democratic primary.

**"The foreign policy of this nation is only going to be right again when we find a President who understands the need to convince every nation throughout the world . . . that we are interested in human concerns and human values."**

During that one year in the Senate, Metzenbaum established a record which is the best guide to what he would do again if elected to the Senate this year. He favored the McGovern amendment to defer full development funding for the controversial B-1 bomber pending further evaluation, and the McIntyre amendment to completely delete research on a counterforce capability for strategic missiles pending the President's report on progress in arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union.

His considerable experience as a businessman prompted a close scrutiny of the waste in the military. He advocated that defense outlays be tailored to match actual defense needs, and that waste at the Pentagon be treated no differently from waste in any other government agency or department. Specifically, he cited the top heavy ratio of officers to enlisted men, cost overruns and the lack of realistic cost projections by the Pentagon, the adverse ratio of support to combat troops, and above all the necessity for competitive bidding in military procurement. Citing a 1967 estimate by former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara that fully one quarter of military procurement outlays was wasted money, Metzenbaum authored an amendment requiring the Pentagon to disclose the cases where competitive bidding was not used in negotiating procurement contracts.

While the Amendment was defeated in the Senate by the narrow margin of two votes, Metzenbaum in his senate campaign is once



again stressing the theme of waste in the military budget. He has estimated a savings of \$15 billion in the military budget through tightened procurement procedures and increased efficiencies in military management.

By contrast Senator Taft, an outspoken fiscal conservative, has proved to be an uncritical supporter of Pentagon spending proposals. In 1976 he authored an amendment to the Defense Procurement Authorization Bill permitting the development of the B-1 bomber even before adequate testing and a careful review

had been completed. Taft opposed creation of the new Select Committee on Intelligence and sought to deny the Committee jurisdiction over intelligence agencies of the Defense Department.

Ohio is expected to be a major battleground for the presidential candidates. It will also be the scene for one of this year's hardest fought senate elections. With the race generally rated too close to call and with the critical need for additional funding, we urge you to contribute to Metzenbaum for Senate.

**Please save this profile until November 2nd. We will refer to it in future mailings.**





# Council for a Livable World

September 20, 1976

Dear Council Supporter,

Two new candidates have been added to the list of Council endorsed candidates for the U.S. Senate -- Dennis DeConcini in Arizona and Howard Metzenbaum in Ohio. Each has already won his primary, and each stands a good chance of winning in November.

In this letter we are asking your support for DeConcini and Metzenbaum and for Bill Green to whom many of you have already contributed earlier this year.

In the Arizona primary on September 7 Dennis DeConcini won a commanding 53 percent of the vote over his two opponents. In the general he will face Congressman Sam Steiger who captured the Republican nomination by a slender margin over Congressman John Conlan.

In Ohio former Democratic Senator Howard Metzenbaum is in an extremely close race with incumbent Republican Senator Robert Taft. Funding is critical to the success of the Metzenbaum campaign.

In Pennsylvania, another race which will be close and hard fought, Democrat Bill Green faces Republican opponent, John Heinz III, who is expected to draw heavily upon his family fortune to finance his general election campaign. Again, adequate funding is critical to the success of the Green campaign.

More detailed information on these three senate races is provided in the enclosed profiles. One observation, however, is appropriate in this letter. Traditional Council criteria for support of senate candidates dictates a preference for smaller states where your contributions are usually more effective. In this regard, Arizona fits the bill entirely. In both Ohio and Pennsylvania, where Council involvement would normally be confined to the primary election, the prospect of two close elections and an acute need for funds prompts us to urge your support.

(over)

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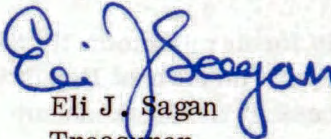


In the 1970 race in Ohio Senator Taft won election over Howard Metzenbaum by the narrow margin of 51-49. This year's race is expected to be decided by a similar margin. And in Pennsylvania in 1970 Republican Leader Hugh Scott held his seat with only 52 percent of the vote, a surprisingly weak showing. For the past three decades Pennsylvania senate elections have been decided by a narrow margin, and this year's race is expected to be no exception.

Seven weeks remain until the elections. Supporters who normally apportion a share of their contributions for the presidential campaign should be reminded that contributions to presidential candidates are no longer permitted under the new law. Additionally, the rigid limitations on individual contributions to senate candidates which the law also imposes have created new difficulties, especially for non-incumbent candidates.

We urge you to contribute generously and immediately as recommended on the enclosed card.

With best wishes,

  
Eli J. Sagan  
Treasurer





# Council for a Livable World

October 8, 1976

Dear Council Supporter,

Three weeks are left until election day. This appeal is a last opportunity to affect the outcome of the senatorial campaigns.

Two challengers are in urgent need of your immediate support.

They are Jim Sasser of Tennessee, whom you already know, and Governor Tom Salmon, the winner of the Democratic nomination in Vermont's September 14th primary.

One of the most exceptional candidates to run for the Senate in recent years, Jim Sasser has been gaining ground steadily in an uphill fight against heavily financed, incumbent Senator Brock. The momentum must be sustained. In a race as close as this the outcome can be determined in the crucial final days. Now within striking distance, the Sasser campaign requires immediate additional financing.

The second race for which your immediate support is needed is in Vermont, a small state offering a clear cut choice. The present incumbent, Republican Senator Robert Stafford, has a poor record on Council issues and has appeared vulnerable for some time.

The Council did not recommend early assistance in Vermont, because two fine candidates were running against each other in the Democratic primary. Even though Governor Tom Salmon won the nomination by a small margin he emerged from the contest with few scars and the promise of active support from his primary opponent.

Tom Salmon's campaign against Senator Stafford is winnable, but only if the modest budget is funded without delay. The Vermont race offers Council Supporters their eighth and possibly most attractive opportunity to make a real difference.

(over)

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No other group of politically minded persons is more experienced than Council Supporters in delivering financial support on short notice and in sufficient amounts. On the strength of that past performance, the Council has already pledged substantial support to the Salmon campaign.

Please write a check today and mail it to the Council office at once. There is no time to lose.

Yours sincerely,

*William Doering*

William Doering  
President

P.S. Because of the complex reporting requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act, we want to remind supporters who wish to contribute to a specific candidate to make your check payable directly to the candidate's campaign committee. If you wish to contribute to two candidates or to a candidate and the Council, please write separate checks.